JPRS 76995

12 December 1980

Korean Affairs Report

No. 115

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S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

COMPOSITION OF OPPOSITION FORCES OUTLINED

Seoul WOLGAN CHUNGANG in Korean Jun 80 pp 154-170

[Article by Yi Kun-song, reporter of CHUNGANG ILBO Monthly Section: "Opposition Forces"]

[Text] What is the substance of the opposition? Tracing the footsteps to date of the opposition forces which emerged, ebbed and flowed under the yusin system, let us put them in perspective.

Who Are the Opposition Forces?

January 1974 marked the beginning of a watershed period for both the "yusin" government and the "opposition."

The yusin system of the Third Republic, which began with the enactment of the yusin constitution on 21 November 1972 following the earlier emergency presidential proclamation of martial law on 17 October, appeared to be stable outwardly, such as it was, until the early summer of the following year. [The space for one line is blank, apparently deleted]

As the new school year began with the blowing of the autumnal wind, the campus atmosphere seemed quite uneasy and a few students quickened their footsteps.

It was 1000 hours on 2 October 1973, a little short of the first anniversary of yusin.

At the Seoul University College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at Tongsung-tong, Seoul, the campus atmosphere was very tense. At first, a couple of students appeared at the 19 April Tower but their number grew in no time to scores.

It was the moment when a collective anti-yusin meeting was about to begin, the first of such meetings following the implementation of yusin that had been covertly prepared, centered around the Student Association (chairman: To Chong-su), in spite of the strict surveillance of the authorities.

---Stop at once government by intelligence!
---Establish a free, democratic system which insures the basic rights of the people!
---Tell the truth of the Kim Tae-chung case!

Shouting such slogans, the students staged an on-campus demonstration.

This was a serious incident that broke down the wall of "criticism of the yusin system not permitted" which had been maintained since the initiation of yusin, as it followed by anti-yusin demonstrations by university students nationwide, such as students of the Seoul University Law College (4 October), Kyonbuk University (5 November), Seoul Teacher's College (7 November), ROK Theological College (9 November), Yonsei University (16 November), and Ewha Women's University (28 November). [The space for almost one line is blank, apparently deleted] Reporters of all newspapers and broadcasting stations issued a "Declaration for Free Press Practice" while resolutions pledging factual reporting were adopted by (KYONGHYANG SINMUN on 19 October, HANGUK ILBO on 22 November, CHOSON ILBO on 27 November, CHUNGANG ILBO on 30 November, TONGA ILBO on 3 December, SINA ILBO on 3 December) and the Korean Journalists Association on 29 November.

At that time, a group centered around personalities of the opposition also began its brisk activity.

It was late in the year on 24 December.

Some 20 people such as Chang Chun-ha, Paek Ki-wan, and Kye Hun-che declared that a million signature movement for petition of constitutional amendment would be launched. Flurried, the government on 29 December announced in the form of an informal talk of President Pak, calling for stopping forthwith the signature movement for petition of constitutional amendment.

Thus amid the anti-yusin democratization movement launched by the campuses, by the press, by the opposition, amid the indomitable signature movement for constitutional amendment against the call for stopping it, we rang out 1973 and ushered in 1974, a year of turbulence.

January 1974, against the backdrop of an anticipated inevitable confrontation was a point in time marking the raising of the curtain for the so-called epoch of emergency decrees. As it appeared as if the fervor of the democratization movement that spread countrywide the previous year would continue with the same intensity in the new year, people such as Yi Hui-sung, Paek Nak-ch'ong, Yi Ho-ch'ol, and Pak T'ae-sun, gathering at a certain coffee shop in Myong-tong on 7 January, read a declaration on the current situation signed by 61 men of letters and came out to support the signature movement for constitutional amendment, stating "at a time when a majority of our fellow countrymen are groaning under poverty [the space for three characters is blank, apparently deleted], we cannot remain silent." On the same day in the Kwangju area, 41 men of the cloth issued a declaration calling for among other things, return to the free democratic system. Thus it was anticipated that the democratization movement would expand further, and a presidential emergency decree was proclaimed on the following day, 8 January.

Subsequently, the epoch of emergency decrees that continued until 7 December 1979, witnessed the emergence in large numbers of opposition personalities amid the painful, long-range clashes of offense and defense between the government's "defense of yusin" and the opposition's "abolition of yusin."

The Cause of the 'Opposition'

"Opposition" implies the spirit of the times and the nature of history. To say the least, in the history of the Third Republic of Korea, the opposition pursues the common value of "the pursuit of democracy" and [the space for 13 characters is blank, apparently deleted] a common mode of action, simultaneously.

In light of the complex political situation during the period, it is difficult to precisely define the opposition's cause. But concretely speaking, what kind of people constitute the "opposition?" Numerically speaking, students and religious personalities represent a considerable number, followed by professors, men of letters, and political personalities. Meanwhile, men of the press were active in an effort to acquit themselves fully of their attributes as conscientious professionals, and no small number of workers and farmers have walked a difficult road to protecting their basic rights and interests.

In their movement, completely deprived of a legal status under the yusin system, they had to work under extremely difficult conditions. Even as many organizations were formed, they got together when there was work to be done but went their separate individual ways after completion of the work.

The substance of the opposition is in the eye of the beholder but let us examine here the types of the opposition forces through various opposition organizations, the actual worksites of the opposition forces active during the period, through the general course of their formations, their personnel, and histories of their activities, centered around Kungmin Yonhap [National Union].

National Union for Democracy and National Reunification

At present, it is the National Union for Democracy and National Reunification (abbr.: the National Union), an organization whose legitimacy is acknowledged, as it constitutes the centripetal force for the opposition's democratic movement. The ideological framework of the National Union rests on the "Democratic National Salvation Declaration on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the 1 March Movement" released on 1 March 1979.

Claiming in this declaration that on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the 1 March movement initiated on the bases of nationalism, democracy, and pacifism, "today's realities show that the independence and sovereignty of the nation, the idea of democracy, and the structure of peace have all been destroyed," and holding the view that "only under a democratic government" would their restoration be possible, the National Union clarified its immediate goal as "termination of the yusin system and establishment of a democratic government."

Then, where are the roots of this National Union? Their roots could be traced as far back as the National Council for the Protection of Democracy of 1971.

It was 19 April 1971 that the National Council for the Protection of Democracy was formed. It was a time when the election of the seventh president was only a few days away under the amended constitution permitting a third-term presidency.

This council, formed with Kim Chae-chun (pastor), Ch'on Kwan-u (journalist), and Yi Pyong-nin (lawyer) as its central figures, decided as part of an all-nation democratic movement to form observer teams consisting of some 6,100 youths and students and dispatch them throughout the country for the presidential election scheduled to be held on 27 April. The introduction of yusin in October 1972, was followed by "anti-yusin" campus demonstrations and "free press declaration" by men of the press in the autumn of 1973. Inspired by them, some 20 opposition personalities such as Chang Chun-ha (ex-National Assemblyman) and Paek Ki-wan (Director of Paekpom Thought Research Institute) began on 24 December of the same year the million signature movement for petition of constitutional amendment.

The Curtain Raised for an Epoch of Emergency Decrees

As Emergency Decrees No 1 (banning opposition to the constitution and advocacy for constitutional amendment) and No 2 (creating emergency court martial) were invoked on 8 January 1974, Chang Chun-ha and Paek Ki-wan, leaders of the signature movement for constitutional amendment, became the first to be arrested on 13 January charged with emergency decree violation, followed by Ham Sok-hon, Ch'on Kwan-u, An Pyong-mu, Mun Tong-hwan, Kim Tong-kil, Pop Hang [later given as Pop Chong], Kim Sung-kyong, Kim Yun-su, Kye Yun-su, Kye Hun-che, Yi Sang-ton, and Yi Chong-kyu who were taken into custody for custody for investigation.

Earlier on 7 January of the same year was issued a declaration on the current situation signed by 61 men of letters, and on 25 February, announcing a spy case involving men of letters and intellectuals, the Bureau of Public Security of the Seoul District Prosecutor's Office took into custody Yi Ho-ch'ol, Im Hon-yong, Kim U-chong, Chong Ul-pyong, and Chang Pyong-hui.

On the other hand, involved with the so-called case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students following the invocation of Presidential Emergency Decree No 4 on 3 April, Yun Po-son (ex-president), Chi Hak-sun (Catholic bishop), Pak Huong-kyu (pastor), Kim Tong-kil (Yonsei University professor), and Kim Ch'an-kuk (Yonsei University professor) stood trial.

The democratization movement that emerged mainly on the campuses under the emergency decrees, breathed a new life into the opposition forces as Emergency Decrees No 1 and No 4 were lifted on 23 August 1974. Personalities of various circles of the opposition, holding a democracy restoration declaration rally on 27 November of the same year, at the Chirstian Hall at 5-ka, Chongno, Seoul, resolved to form National Conference for Restoration of Democracy. Adopting a 6-point "national declaration" such as (1) substitution of a democratic constitution for the current constitution through rational procedures and (2) the release of all personalities serving prison terms or in custody or under house arrest, the restoration of their political rights, and the guarantee of the freedom of Ham Sok-hon, Ch'on Kwan-u, Kim Hong-il, Kang Won-nyong, Yi Hui-sung, and Yi T'ae-yong for the operation of the National Conference and a sustaining organizing of its meetings. Those who signed the "national declaration" were 71 in all, and they were:

Political elders: Yun Po-son, Paik Nak-chun, Yi In, Kim Hong-il, Yu Chin-o, Chong Il-hyong, Chong Hwa-am

Independence fighters: Kim Ch e-ho, An Chae-hwan, Yu Sok-hyon, Chin Hon-sik, Song Chin-paek, Hwang Ho-hyon

Catholics: Yun Hyang-chung, Ham Se-ung, Sin Hyon-pong, An Ch'ung-sok, Yang Hong, Yi Ch'ang-pok, Pak Sang-nae

Protestants: Kim Chae-chun, Ham Sok-hon, Kang Sin-myong, Kang Won-nyong, Kim Kwan-sok, Yun Pan-ung, Cho Hyang-nok, Yi Sang-nin, Pak Ch'ang-kyun, Kye Hun-che, Kang Kil-ch'ol

Buddhist: Po Chong [earlier given as Pop Hang]

Academics: Yi Hui-sung, Chong Sok-hae, Yi Tong-hwa, Chon Kyong-yon, Pak Pong-nang, So Nam-tong, Mun Tong-hwan, An Pyong-mu

Men of letters: Yi Hon-ku, Kim Chong-han, Pak Yon-hui, Kim Kyu-tong, Pak Nak-ch'ong, Ko Un, Kim Yun-su, Hong Sa-chung, Kim Pyong-kol

Men of the press: Ch'on Kwan-u, Yi Yong-hui, Chang Yong-hak, Kim Yong-ku, Pu Wan-hyok, Im Chae-kyong

Lawyers: Yi Pyong-nin, Hong Song-u, Hwang In-ch'ol, Han Sung-hon, Yim Kwang-kyu

Women: Yi T'ae-yong, Kong Tok-kwi, Yi U-chong, Kim Chong-nye

Politicians: Kim Yong-sam, Yang Il-tong, An P'il-su, Ko Hung-mus, Yun Che-sul, Kim Ch'ol

The National Conference for Restoration of Democracy made its formal start at the Seoul YMCA on 25 December 1974. Definging its character as "an all-nation organization, a nonpolitical organization, for a national movement, not political activities," the National Conference for Restoration of Democracy laid down "sovereignty, peace, conscience" as its action program and set "restoration of democracy" as its goal.

An Epoch of '1 March Myong-tong Incident'

The Democratic National Salvation Declaration incident (the 1 March Myong-tong incident) that occurred on 1 March 1976, was an epochal incident whether viewed from the influence it exerted internally and externally or from the personnel and ideological structure it provided for the National Union that followed.

[The space for one line is blank, apparently deleted]

Among the signatories were Yun Po-son, Kim Tae-chung (ex-presidential candidate of the New Democratic Party), Ham Sok-hon (publisher of "The Voice of Seed Grain"), Ham Se-ung (Catholic priest), Yi U-chong (ex-professor of Seoul Women's University), Chong Il-hyong (National Assemblyman, New Democratic Party), Yun Pan-ung, (pastor), Kim Sung-hun (Catholic priest), Chang Tok-p'il (Catholic priest), Kim T'aek-am (Catholic priest), An Ch'ung-sok (Catholic priest), Mun Chong-hyon (Catholic priest), Sin Hyon-pong Catholic priest), Mun Tong-hwan (ex-professor of ROK Theological College), An Pyong-mu (ex-professor of the ROK Theological College), Yi Mun-yong (ex-professor of Korea University), So Nam-tong (ex professor of Yonsei University), and Un Myong-ki (pastor).

Involved in this case, 11 persons, including Mun Ik-hwan (pastor) and Yi Hae-tong (pastor) were taken into custody, and nine other persons including Yi T'ae-yong (lawyer) were indicted without being taken into custody.

On 23 March 1977, was announced "Democratic National Salvation Charter" calling for the abolition of the yusin constitution, in the name of 10 persons, i.e., Yun Po-son, Chong Ku-yong, Chi Hak-sun, Yang Il-tong, Ch'on Kwan-u, Ham Sok-hon, Yun Hyang-chung, (Catholic priest), Pak Hyong-kyu, Chong Il-hyang, and Cho Hwa-sun (pastor).

Subsequently on 29 December, the ROK Human Rights Movement Council was formed by 32 people of various circles struggling for the restoration of human rights and democracy, with the following officers: Cho Nam-ki (pastor), chairman; Kim Sung-hun (Catholic priest), vice chairman; An Song-yol (Tonga Struggle Committee), executive director; Kim Sang-kun (pastor), secretary.

Later on 24 March 1978, was announced "1 March Democratic Declaration" signed by 66 people such as Yun Po-son and others of various circles. In the declaration, they criticized the ongoing system and questioned responsibilites for the failure of the foreign policy, the suppression of religions, campuses and the press, and the failure of the economic policy. In this connection, Ham Sok-hon and Mun Ik-hwan were taken into custody.

On 9 June 1978, the ROK Human Rights Movement Council which began functioning toward the end of 1977, expanded its organization and elected Ham Sok-hon as chairman, Mun Ik-hwan, Kim Sung-hun, Song Kon-ho (journalist), Song Nae-un (ex-professor of Yonsei University) and Kong Tok-kwi (wife of Yun Po-son) as vice chairmen, and a central committee consisting of 18 members.

It was on 5 July 1978 that the Democratic National Union came into being. The Democratic National Union was launched at the Christian Hall at 5-ka, Chongno, Seoul, with the signatures of some 300 people such as Yun Po-son, Mun Ik-hwan, Kim Yun-sik (ex-National Assemblyman), and Kye Hun-che (member, editorial committee of "The Voice of Seed Grain") but on account of obstruction by the authorities and because the personalities of various circles were still under house arrest, the inaugural meeting proved abortive and the investigative organs went into action against the entire participants including pastor Mun Ik-hwan.

Subsequently on 18 August, the Democratic National Union issued "15 August Declaration" at the Christian Hall, and Kye Hun-che was taken into custody.

Signs of the Incipient Life of 'National Union'

Subsequently on 7 December, as the "12-12" [12 December] general election for the tenth president was drawing near, 13 opposition organizations including the Democratic National Union jointly issued "Our Stand Toward the 12-12 Election" calling for, among other things, (1) establishment of an election system reflecting democratic will, (2) the guarantee of freedom of the press, and (3) removal of the emergency decrees.

On 1 March 1979, opposition personalities such as Yun Po-son, Ham Sok-hon, and Kim Tae-chung, issuing "Democratic National Salvation Declaration on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the 1 March Movement," formed "National Union for Democracy and National Reunification" as "a voluntary, supraparty all-nation organization with a view to reestablishing democracy in this land by peaceful means and ultimately, to attaining by democratic means the great cause for national reunification," continuing and developing the activities to date of the "National Conference for Restoration of Democracy" and "Democratic National Union."

To take a look at the organizational structure of the National Union thus born, there is the Board of Chairmen at the top with Yun Po-son, Ham Sok-hon, and Kim Tae-chung as co-chairmen; under the Board Chairmen ther is the General Council under which ther is the Central Committee. Members of the Central Committee are: Mun Ik-hwan (pastor), Ko Un (poet), Ham Se-ung (Catholic priest), Pak Hyong-kyu (pastor), Kye Hun-che (member, editorial committee of "The Voice of Seed Grain"), Yi Mun-yong (professor of Korea University), Han Wan-sang (professor of Seoul University), Ye Ch'un-ho (National Assemblyman, New Democratic Party), O T'ae-sun (Catholic priest), Kim Pyong-kol (man of letters), Kim Sung-hun (Catholic priest), An Pyong-mu (professor of ROK Theological College), So Nam-tong (professor of Yonsei University), Yi T'ae-yong (lawyer), Mun Tong-hwan (pastor), Yi U-chong (professor of Seoul Women's University, Kim Kwan-sok (president of Christian Broadcast), Kim Yun-sik (ex-National Assemblyman), Pak Chong-t'ae (ex-National Assemblyman), Paek Ki-wan (Director of Paekpom Thought Research Institute), Han Sung-hon (ex-lawyer), Paek Nak-ch'ong (professor of Seoul University), Kim Chong-wan (politician), Sim Chae-kwon (human rights activist), So Kyong-sok (executive secretary, Urban Industrial Mission), Cho Song-u (human rights activist). Mun Ik-hwan is the Chairman of the Central Committee, and Ko Un and Ham Se-ung, its vice chairmen.

Under the Central Committee there is the Central Standing Committee. Members of this Central Standing Committee are Mun Ik-hwan, Ko Un, Ham Se-ung, Pak Hyong-kyu, Kye Hun-che, Yi Mun-yong, Han Wan-sang, and Ye Ch'un-ho, who are also members of the Central Committee.

Under the Central Standing Committee, there is the Secretariat in charge of day-to day business. Besides, directly under the Central Committee, there are the spokesman (Ham Se-ung) and Special Committee (nonstanding).

It is generally said that there are 13 organizations under the umbrella of the National Union. Rather than being an organizationally binding affiliation, it is related to the relationship of ideological support entered into in the course of the democratization movement in the past and also to the fact that the major members of the organizations are all active at the National Union.

Active, directly or indirectly affiliated with the National Union, are the ROK Human Rights Movement Council, National Catholic Priest Group for Embodiment of Justice, Discharged Professors Council, Christian Professors Council, Free Practicing Writers Council, NCC Human Rights Committee, Democratic Constitutional Government Tongjihoe, Democratic Youth Council, Paekpom Thought Research Institute, ROK Christian Youth Council, and Political Offenders Council.

The Discharged Professors Council

Separate and distinct from the Discharged Professors Council, there is the ROK Christian Professors Council.

The Christian Professors Council holds it as its objective "for those engaged in education and learning at universities to deepen their convictions of Christian faith and bear witness to evangelism," and its members are "those former and present Christian professors, lecturers, and students of universities who, concurring in its objective, are engaged in the Christian movement."

The Christian Professors Council, which was formed in January 1966, saw its members taken into custody one after another under the just instituted yusin system as the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students case broke out in April 1974. As the confrontation with the yusin system became acute, the number of discharged professors increased and 12 of the 15 officers of the Christian Professors Council became discharged professors.

To take a brief look at the activities of the professors, among the professors taken into custody in connection with the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students case in April 1974, were Kim Ch'an-kuk (Yonsei University), Kim Tong-kil (Yonsei University), and Chong S[illegible]-pok, executive secretary of KSCF (Korean Students Christian Federation) in charge of the Professors Council.

The Christian Professors Council held prayer meetings as it launched a movement to collect contributions on behalf of those taken into custody. At the ninth general meeting held on 11 January 1975, Yi Mun-yong (Korea University) was elected as chairman and Han Wan-sang (Seoul University) as executive director. On 13 January 1975, in retaliation against suppression of its advertisements, TONGA ILBO carried an encouragement advertisement clarifying the name of the Christian Professors Council. On 1 March of the same year, a lecture meeting was held at Saemunan Church, Seoul, in honor of the release from prison of professors Kim Ch'an-kuk and Kim Tong-kil. Such encouragement advertisements and moves subsequently operated as outward elements leading to the dismissal of professors. [The space for one and a half lines is blank, apparently deleted.]

To enumerate the discharged professors: On 27 November 1974, on grounds of participation in the "National Declaration on Restoration of Democracy," two professors, Paek Nak-ch'ong (Seoul University) and Kim Pyong-kol (Kyonggi Engineering College), were relieved of their positions; on 10 June 1975, two professors of Korea University, Yi Mun-yong and Kim Yong-chun, were fired (Prof Yi Mun-yong had been fired earlier in July 1973, involved in the "N.H. Association case" but was reinstated in February 1974); on 11 June of the same year, two professors of the ROK Theological College, An Pyong-mu and Mun Tong-hwan, were relieved of their positions; and on 12 June, Yonsei University professors Kim Ch'an-kuk, Kim Tong-kil, Yi Kye-chun, So Nan-tong, Song Nae-un and Yang In-ung were discharged. On 16 June, Prof Nam Chong-il of Chonbuk University and Prof Yi U-chong of Seoul Women's University were discharged; on the following day, the 17th, Prof No Myong-sik of Kyonghui University was discharged; and on the 20th, Prof U Ch'ang-ung of Pusan Teacher's College was relieved of his position.

Establishing "Galilee" Church on 17 August 1975, discharged professors such as Yi Mun-yong, So Nam-tong, An Pyong-mu, Yi U-chong, and Mun Tong-hwan used to meet there. Involved in the 1 March Democratic National Salvation Declaration of 1 March 1976, professors Yi Mun-yong, So Nam-tong, An Pyong-mu, Mun Tong-hwan, and Mun Ik-hwan who were taken into custody and Prof Yi U-chong who was not taken into custody all stood trial. On 2 December 1977, a "Declaration on Democratic Education" was issued in the name of 13 discharged professors including discharged professors Kim Yun-su (Ewha Women's University), Yom Mu-ung (Toksong Women's University), and Han Wan-sang (Seoul University) calling for (1) the immediate release and reinstatement of students [the space for ten characters is blank, apparently deleted] taken into custody and expelled from school on grounds of having criticized the unreasonable political powers; (2) the immediate release and restoration of civil rights of those imprisoned while indicting the irrationality of politics and society [the space for ten characters is blank, apparently deleted] according to the dictate of conscience; (3) the reinstatement of those professors unreasonably discharged while being faithful to their inherent mission as academics and the immediate release of their colleagues languishing in prison.

The Case of Chonnam University's 'Guide to Education'

On 13 April 1978, 18 discharged professors formed the Discharged Professors Council and after electing Prof Song Nae-un (Yonsei University) as chairman, adopted "a letter addressed to fellow professors." In it they enunciated "our 5-point contentions, i.e.:

(1) All professors must speak the truth in teaching;
(2) All acts suppressing democratic education, national education, whoever perpetrates them, must all be repudiated, and provisions in terms of system encouraging and aiding such acts must all be abolished;
(3) All the present and former professors, standing on the conscience as educators, must resist the unreasonable punishment of students and demand the restoration of rights and reinstatement of already victimized students;
(4) All the professors, who have been discharged while being faithful to the complete salvation of such students and at the same time, to their inherent mission as academics, must be unconditionally reinstated; [the space for one complete line, presumably item (5) is blank, apparently deleted] we strongly demand.

On 9 June 1978, the Christian Professors Council, Tonga Free Press Protection Struggle Committee, and the Discharged Professors Council jointly issued "a letter addressed to university professors and men of the press" emphasizing that the suffering of the students to date "absolutely should not have been, had the professors spoken the facts on behalf of the universities, the country and fellow countrymen, had the press reported on the facts and commented on them," and scathingly protesting for whom had their unanimous silence been, appealed to their inherent duties "how could you, whether you are professors or men of the press, hold your glorified names while you lead the country and fellow countrymen to suffering."

On 27 June 1978, 11 professors of Chonnam University, i.e., Kim Tuk-chin, Kim Chong-su, Kim Hyon-kon, Myong No-kun, Pae Yong-nam, Song Ki-suk, An Chin-o, Yi Pang-ki, Yi Sok-yon, Yi Hong-kil, and Hong Sung-ki, jointly issued "Our Guide to Education" criticizing the democratic education charter.

In it they contended "in light of our conscience and our good sense as academics, today's failure of education stems from its failure to root itself in democracy capable of making all people within and without the educational world reach a voluntary consensus" and [the space for 23 characters is blank, apparently deleted] reaching agreement on the following "our guide to education," pledged to practice it:

1. In order that education that respects man rather than materialism, education that learns and teaches truth, may be conducted as it should, it is imperative that our daily life, which is a genuine charter for education, and the campus must both be humanized and democratized;

2. As the first step toward the humanization and democratization of the campus, the educators themselves, with a human conscience and devoted fervor for democracy, must teach the students and learn together with them;

3. We repudiate interventions from without in the task of learning and teaching truths; we protest against sacrificing the university people such international cause. In particular, we strive with priority for the release of those students taken into custody and for the reinstatement of the expelled students;

4. We conduct education so as to faithfully continue and disseminate the 1 March spirit and the 19 April spirit and foster national forces to realize the long-cherished aspiration of our people--the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The 11 professors who signed "our guide to education" were all discharged, and Prof Song Ki-suk of them and Prof Song Nae-un of Yonsei University were taken into custody in connection with it.

The 27 Discharged Professors

On 3 November 1978, the ROK Human Rights Movement Council, the ROK Christian Professors Council, the Discharged Professors Council, the Free Practicing Writers Council, the Paekpom Thought Research Institute, the Tonga [TONGA ILBO] Free Press Protection Committee and the Chosun [CHOSON ILBO] Free Press Struggle Committee issued a "Joint Statement on the Freedom of Expression and Speech."

In this joint statement, they "urged the authorities to seriously reconsider" the detention and imprisonment of youths and men of the cloth "such as pastors Mun Ik-hwan and Pak Hyong-kyu, recently," ten men of the press such as An Chong-p'il, chairman of the Tonga [Free Press Protection] Struggle Committee taken into custody, "imprisoned poets [the space for three characters is blank, apparently deleted] and Yang Song-u," professors Yi Yong-hui and Paik Nak-ch'ong handed guilty verdicts for involvement in the publishing case, imprisoned Prof Song Ki-suk and 10 other professors of Chonnam University discharged on the ground that they had made "a conscientious declaration in the form of 'our guide to education,'" the suspension of WOLGAE CHUNGANG "stemming from control [the space for seven characters is blank, apparently deleted] against culture in general," and "the fetters of all kinds of

warning and intervention placed on THE VOICE OF SEED GRAIN, CHRISTIAN THOUGHT, [the space for nine characters is blank, apparently deleted] CREATIVE WORK AND CRITIQUE, LITERATURE AND SINCERITY, and A DEEPLY ROOTED TREE." They went on to demand: (1) guarantee of the freedom of expression and speech, (2) the immediate release of all conscientious objectors, and (3) the immediate termination of detention and imprisonment [the space for six characters is blank, apparently deleted].

On 6 April 1979, the Free Practicing Writers Council and the Discharged Professors Council issued a statement "Release the Poets and Intellectuals!" calling for the release of all conscientious objectors, especially the release of [the space for three characters is blank, apparently deleted] poets [the space for three characters is blank, apparently deleted] Yang Song-u and of Prof Yi Yong-hui.

In April 1979, professors Kim Yong-chun and No Myong-sik were reinstated to Korea University and Songgyungwan University respectively while Pak Hyon-ch'ae (lecturer, Evangelical Training School) was taken into custody under the Anticommunist Law.

Mun Tong-hwan, Kim Pyong-kil, and An Chae-ung were jailed for 25 days on account of a demonstration in front of Whashin Department Store on 23 June 1979, against Carter's visit, and professors Yi Mun-yong and Mun Tong-hwan were taken into custody and indicted on 11 August for involvement in the Y.H. case.

[The space for one complete line is blank, apparently deleted]

'Membership List' [of the Discharged Professors Council]

On the membership list are the following 27 professors: Song Nae-un (chairman, Yonsei University), Mun Tong-hwan (vice chairman, ROK Theological College), Paek Nak-ch'ong (vice chairman, Seoul University), Kim Tong-kil (Yonsei University), Kim Pyong-kol (Kyonggi Engineering College), Kim Ch'ank-kuk (Yonsei University), Nam Chong-kil (Chonbuk University), Myong No-kun (Chonnam University), Mun Pyong-nan (Korea University [Choson Taehak]), Pae Yong-nam (Chonnam University), So Nam-tong (Yonsei University), Song Ki-suk (Chonnam University), Song Chong-sok (Yonsei University), An Pyong-mu (Toksong Women's University), U Ch'ang-ung (Pusan Teacher's College), Im Yong-ch'on (Korea University [Choson Taehak]), Yi Kye-chun (Yonsei University), Yi Mun-yong (Seoul Women's University), Yi Chae-hyon (Seoul University), Yi Hong-kil (Chonnam University), Han Wan-sang (Seoul University), Kim Yun-su (Ehwa Women's University) and Chong Ch'ang-yol (Hanyang University).

Subsequently on 25 November 1979, for involvement in the Myong-tong (the space for three characters is blank, apparently deleted] assembly case (a rally to oppose the selection of acting president) Kim Pyong-kol and An Chae-und, and on 27 November, for involvement in the assembly in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the merger of the KSCF, Han Wan-sang and Chong Sang-pok, were either detained or indicted to stand trial.

Throughout such numerous cases, the Discharged Professors Council invariably maintained its stand, its role as the leader of the democratic movement even as its members were deprived of their teaching jobs, their livelihood. One might find great significance in this. For the 1980 school year, all but a few professors such as Kim Pyong-kol were reinstated with the advent of political liberation.

The Free Practicing Writers Council

It was the declaration for support of the signature movement for constitutional amendment, a declaration issued with the signatures of 61 men of letters mainly led by Pak T'ae-sun, Paek Nak-ch'ong, and Yi Ho-ch'ol on 7 January 1974, that is, precisely one day before the invocation of the emergency decree, that signaled the first collective action by the men of letters toward democratization under the yusin system. Some time later, on 25 February, on charges of involvement in the so-called spy case of men of letters and intellectuals, five of them, Yi Ho-ch'ol, Kim U-chong, Chong Ul-pyong, Chang Pyong-hui, and Im Hon-yong were taken into custody in lightning action, which shocked the society.

On 18 November 1974, men of letters such as Ko Un, Paek Nak-ch'ong, Yi Ho-ch'ol, Sin Kyong-nim, Cho T'ae-il and Pak T'ae-sun formed the Free Practicing Writers Council, electing Ko Un as its representative director. Issuing a 101-man declaration of the Free Practicing Writers Council in front of the Tonga Ilbo company building, they adopted a resolution (1) irrationality must be overcome not by the arbitrariness of politicians but by all-people wisdom and courage and (2) a new constitution must be written by a free, democratic spirit and procedures, after which they went on to stage a demonstration on Sejongno, Seoul. In the process, seven people such as Ko Un, Cho Hae-il, Yun Hong-kil, Pak T'ae-sun, Yi Si-yong, Yi Mun-ku, and Song Ki-won were taken to the police headquarters.

On charges of participation in the National Conference for Restoration of Democracy formed on 27 November of the same year, two literary professors, Paek Nak-ch'ong (Seoul University) and Kim Pyong-kol (Kyonggi Engineering College) were relieved of their teaching positions.

On 15 March 1975, the Free Practicising Writers Council issued a 165-man declaration and subsequently, as it took on its share of the movement for the democratization of intellectuals of the society, played a big role especially in making the people at the bottom of society conscious democratically and nationally.

Still vividin our memory are its third declaration on 18 November 1977, an evening of national culture on 24 April 1978, and an evening of literature for those men of letters in custody on 27 April 1979.

At the "World Poets Meeting" held at Walker Hill on 4 July of the same year, members of the Free Practicing Writers Council staged a demonstration, shouting "The ROK poetry is dead. [The space for ten characters is blank, apparently deleted." Nine of them, including Yi Si-yong, Yi Mun-ku, and Song Ki-won were taken to the police headquarters.

Thus through human rights cases Song Ki-suk (Chonnam University, "guide to education" case), Yang Song-u ("The diary of a Slave" case), Ko Un (the Y.H. case), and Kim Pyong-kol (the Myong-tong assembly case) were put behind bars, and many men of letters such as Paek Nak-ch'ong, Pak T'ae-sun, Yom Mu-ung, and Kwang Sok-yong experienced hard times.

"Whatever the difficulty, we will work hard, writing until our national democratization strikes its roots."

That is what Kim Pyong-kol, who is the council chairman succeeding Sin Kyong-min and Ko Un, said.

The Council of Families of the Conscientious Objectors

This is an organization which was formed, centered around the families of those taken into custody on charges of violation of the emergency decrees under the yusin system.

Originally, its name was Council of the Families of Those Taken into Custody, and subsequently renamed the Council of Families of the Conscientious Objectors.

What provided an opportunigy for the families of those taken into custody to get together was the so-called case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students [chonguk minju ch'ongnyon haksaeng ch'ong nyonmaeng, abbr: minch'ong hangnyon].

The announcement made by the authorities of the Minch'ong Hangnyon case was not only absurd in content but the fact that a total of 1,024 persons were arrested for investigation and 253 of them were indicted (the figures by the authorities) was a great shock internally and externally.

The heartache of the families who had their husbands or sons taken into custody was beyond description.

Grave as the social situation was at the time, the defendants were tried by an extraordinary military court. [The space for one complete line is blank, apparently deleted] first of all, what the families wanted to know was the truth of the case allegedly involving their husbands and sons. [The space for two lines is blank, apparently deleted.] The families, who gathered, centered around the Christian Hall at Ch'ang-ka, Chongno, began piecing together bits and pieces of stories about what happened at the court.

"The truth of the case" as pieced together from the only source, the family members allowed to attend as "witness to the trial" spread internally and externally, and as it became a social issue, it played an important role in having the defendants released from confinement, later.

Meanwhile, prayer meetings were held at the Christian Hall. The "Thursday prayer meetings" which began with pastors Kim Sang-kun and Yi Hae-tong as the central figures, were prayer meetings on behalf of those suffering in confinement, which were assisted by Kim Kwan-suk, Ho Pyong-sop, Mun Tong-hwan, Mun Ik-hwan, So Nam-tong, An Pyong-mu, Mun Chong-hyon, Yi U-chong, and the families who had happened to know each other in front of the court and detention house came to participate in the prayer meetings en masse.

On account of the ban imposed by the authorities, the Thursday prayer meetings could no longer be held at public places as of March 1975, but the prayer meetings are continuing to this day, with the meeting places changed from private home to private home.

Every time a big case broke out, new families joined the prayer meetings, and after the "1 March Myong-tong case," separate "Friday prayer meetings" were also held.

The Council of Families of the Conscientious Objectors, mainly centered around prayer meetings, put together their wisdom to save their husbands, sons and daughters by various means such as sit-in, hunger strike, demonstration. In the process, many families showed the tendencies of joining the cause, understanding what their husbands and children had done.

Up to now, chairperson Kong Tok-kwi (wife of Yun Po-son), vice chairperson Pak Yong-kil (wife of Mun Ik-hwan), and executive director Kim Han-rim (mother of Kim Yun-sik) have taken charge of the business, assisted by many families such as Chong Kum-song [the space for seven characters is blank], Kim Yun-sik (Father of Kim Hak-min), Cho Chong-ha (wife of Pak Hyong-kyu), Ch'oe Yong-hui (wife of Yi Hyon-pae), Kim Sok-chung (wife of Yi Mun-yong), Yi Chong-ok (wife of Yi Hae-tong), Yi Hui-ho (wife of Kim Tae-chung), Pak Yong-suk (wife of An Pyong-mu), Yun Yong-cha (wife of Yi Hong-hui), Ch'oe Mal-sun (mother of So Kwang-t'ae), Yi Pok-a (mother of Kim Pong-u), Pak No-suk (mother of Yu In-t'ae), Yi Kun-chin (father of Yi Ch'ol), Kim Pyong-sun (elder brother of Kim Hyo-sun) and O Song-suk (wife of Kim Se-kyun), who worked hard in spite of hardship. The human relationship of mutual support entered into amid hardships, is more than a simple friendship.

There were many a family whose two members were put behind bars at the same time, and among them are Pastor Pak Hyong-kyu and Pak Chong-nyol (father and son), Pastor Mun Ik-hwan and Pastor Mun Tong-hwan (brothers), Yu Int'ae and Yu Int'aek (brothers) So Kyong-sok and So Ch'ang-sok (brothers), Ch'oe Yol and Ch'oe Yun (Brothers), Pastor Im Ki-chun and Im Song-hun (father and son), Pastor Kong Hui-nam and Kang Se-hyon (father and son), ex-National Assemblyman Kim Yun-sik and Kim Hak-min (father and son), Pastor Kim Kwan-sok and Kim Ha-pom (father and son), and moreover, in the case of the family of Pay Hyong-kyu and Pak Chong-nyol, the father was put behind bars five times, and the son, twice.

"Twelve members of the families involved in '1 March Myong-tong case' happened to go down to Kwangju. Somehow finding this out, some people came down to Kwangju and tried to join us in our rapid transit bus parked in the Kwangju public playground. So we called in a Kwangju bus, and persuading them to go sightseeing in the Mudung Mountains, we loaded them onto the bus and sent them off back to Seoul."

So said vice chairperson Pak Yong-kil, recalling from memory some of the hard times she had gone through.

The Democratic Youth Council

We may have to go as far back as the movement against constitutional amendment for third term presidency but this council is a youth organization for democratic movement mainly consisting of students taken into custody and students expelled from school, under the yusin system.

In particular, under the yusin system, there occurred ceaselessly cases of confinement and expulsion such as the Minch'ong Hangnyon case and the 22 May case (Seoul University).

It was in May 1978, that they first organized the council. It was on 23 March 1978 that Kim Pyong-kon, once released from confinement in connection with the Minch'ong Hangnyon case, was taken into custody again, and on the 25th, Kim Pong-u was also taken into custody again. As their colleagues around them were so easily taken into custody, the situation made them feel all the more keenly, first, the danger threatening themselves, and the need for their self-defense measures and the democratic movement.

On April 14, the youths got together at the home of Ko Un, the place selected for staging their sit-in, and for four days, they spent some 100-man days demanding the release of their two colleagues, and discussed how to structure a council, as they staged a hunger sit-in.

On 12 May, the youths, most of them having been behind bars, got together at the Christian Hall at 5-ka, Chongno, and formed the Democratic Youth Human Rights Council, pledging to devote themselves to the movement for restoration of democracy. On the 26th, the authorities took into custody for investigation, six steering committee members: Chong Mun-hwa, Pak Kye-tong, Kim Hak-min, Mun Kuk-chu, Pae Kyong-sun, and Chang Man-ch'ol.

At about 1900 hours on 30 August, some 80 members of the Democratic Youth Human Rights Council staged a demonstration in front of the Choson Ilbo company building against the attempt to take into custody again Yu In-t'ae who had just been released after 5 years of imprisonment stemming from the Minch'ong Hangnyon case, and in February 1979, contending that it was a political reprisal to have served summons for military service on those students who had been paroled after serving part of their prison terms, formed the Committee to Cope with the Military Service Question (chairmen: Yi Pon-yong and Ch'on Hui-sang) to fight against the summons. The Democratic Human Rights Council, where Chong Mun-hwa, Cho Song-u, Yang Kwan-su, Yi U-hoe, and Yi Hae-ch'an had served as successive chairman, also changed its name to the Democratic Youth Council with a view to taking up the democratization question in addition to the human rights question and expanding the organization in step with the currents of the times.

The Catholic Democratic Movement Organizations

--On 23 September 1974, young Catholic priests held a meeting following the national seminar of the clergy in Wonju and formed the National Catholic Priest Group for Embodiment of Justice. Agreeing to focus efforts on the restoration of human rights and democracy, some 500 priests on that day, launched a street demonstration, demanding the release of Bishop Chi Hak-sun.

Centered around young Catholic fathers such as Ham Se-ung, O T'ae-sun, and Kim Sung-hun, the National Catholic Priest Group for Embodiment of Justice from that time to this day, through the demand for democratization via declarations on the current situation, various kinds of prayer meetings and demonstrations, mass celebrations for the departed such as the late Prof Ch'oe Chong-kil, and their own investigations of the cases, also played the vanguard role for the democratic movement while putting efforts into promoting a democratic consciousness not only within the Catholic Church but among the entire people.

--On the other hand, there is the Catholic Committee for Justice and Peace as an organization under the jurisdiction of the Bishop's Conference of the Catholic Church.

As the name indicates, "justice" and "peace" are the task of this committee and as such, has consistently concerned itself to this day with the enhancement of democratization and human rights.

The governor is Archbishop Yun Kong-hui and chairman, Mun Ch'ang-chun. There is a 30 member Central Committee including vice chairman Kim Mal-iyong, under which there are four subcommittees whose chairmen are: Father Price (education subcommittee chairman, professor of Sogang University), Ku Chung-so (information subcommittee chairman, literary critic), Kim O-sang (socioeconomic subcommittee chairman, professor of Sogang University), and Yu Hyon-sok (human rights subcommittee chairman, lawyer).

--In addition, there is the Catholic Farmers Association (chairman: Ch'oe Pyong-uk) committed to aiding in the solution of questions of our country's farmers.

"The solution of questions of the farmers is the road to building a democratic society in this country and again, only if we achieve a genuine development of agriculture, only if there is an agricultural development, will it be possible to overcome today's difficulties confronting the Korean economy." With this view, the Catholic Farmers Association defines it as its objective "to protect the rights and interests of the farmers in all areas with the unity and cooperation of the farmers themselves, strive for human development, and contribute to the development of humanity as a whole through the realization of social justice."

The Catholic Farmers Association, whose task had begun with the creation of a "Rural Youth Department" under the Junior Organization of Catholice [kat-olik nodong ch'ongnyonhoe] in October 1964, has been working with major emphasis on democratization and cooperativization of the rural areas, various kinds of educational activities, investigative activities, and publicity activities, with a view to protecting the rights and interests of the farmers and promoting their democratic consciousness.

The association has been working to make the farmers dig out and improve various undemocratic elements pervasive in the rural society, and the voluntary movement of the farmers to protect their rights and interests through campaigns such as the campaign for seeking compensation for the Hamp'yong sweet potato crop damage represents an important example which has given confidence to the farmers that they can protect their rights on their own.

Again, as an or[illegible]on which has been launching a movement with the same objective for [illegible]ncement of right and interests and democratization of the farmers, there [illegible] J.O.C. (Junior Organization of Catholics; Chin Pyong-t'ae and Kim Pong-sun, chairmen).

Protestant Organizations for the Democratic Movement

--The Korean National Council of Churches is an organization which holds it as its objective to promote amity, research, and consultation between Korean churches.

This council, which aims for embodiment of the ecumenical spirit, consists of six denominations: the Korean Presbyterian Church (United), the Korean Methodist Church, the Korean Presbyterian Church, the Korean Headquarters of the Salvation Army, the Korean Episcopal Church, and the Korean Evangelical Church As a special committee under this council, there is the Human Rights Committee. The Human Rights Committee has busied itself without one day's interruption about the human rights of especially the students, church officials and followers who have been taken into custody under the yusin system.

As human rights cases have been happening ceaselessly, the committee has had to busy itself with attending to the affairs stemming from such cases and seeking their release.

As an organization spontaneously formed as a force inspiring the democratization of Christian church rights, there is the Christian Church Tongjihoe. It is not too long ago that this organization has given itself a name, an organization that has been intent on establishing horizontal ties with a view to making more effective the Christian democratic movement that has been under way in various areas since 1977 and on uniting the forces of Christian democratic personalities throughout the country. At present, the chairman is Pastor Pak Hyong-kyu, and Pastor Kim Sang-kun, executive director.

--As the democratic movement within the sphere of Christian churches became active centered around frontline democratic personalities, the organization which was organized for expansion of the movement within the Churches is the Seoul District Human Rights Evangelical Council. In the beginning, Pastor Kim Sang-kun played the role of a midwife, and Yi Hae-tong, Hong Kil-po (yejang) [meaning unclear] Yi Tae-yong (Episcopal father) and Pastor Im Chong-cho (yejang), Kim Yong-kyun (yejang), Kim Myong-ok (kijang) [meaning unclear] were active. At present, Father Yi Chae-chong is chairman.

--The Youth Subcommittee of the Korean National Council of Churches (N.C.C.) resolved in March 1975 to form Hanguk Kiddokkyo Ch'ongnyon Hyopuihoe (E.Y.C.) [?Ecumenical Youth Council] and in April and May, organized district ecumenical youth councisl in Seoul, Taegue, Pusan, Ch'ongju, Taejon, Chonju, and Kwangju. Thus the E.Y.C. movement began.

These organizations are a consultative body organized by the National Youth Union of the six member church denominations of the N.C.C. Youths of the member churches ranging in age from 18 to 35 become members of the E.Y.C. Hwang Chu-sok, Chon no-chin, Song Chin-sop, and Kim Chong-t'aek have been active as successive chairman, and So Kyong-sok, Kwon Chin-kwan, Kim Ki-yong, and Kim Hyong-ki, as successive director, of the E.Y.C. which in the course of its activity had many of its members taken into custody.

--As a supradenominational social evangelical consultative body of Protestant and Catholic churches, there is the ROK Church Social Evangelical Council.

It was on 4 January 1971, that church leaders (such as Kim Kwan-sok, O Myong-kol, Kang Won-yong, O Chae-sik, Cho Sung-hyok, and Kim Kyong-nak) interested in church evangelism in the course of urban industrialization, formed the ROK Industrial Questions Council centered around individuals. And it was on 28 September 1971,

that this council was reorganized as a Christian social action consultative body for participation by Protestant and Catholic evangelical organizations interested in industrial society. Elected as the first chairman of the board of trustees was Father Pak Hung; as secretary general, Pastor Cho Sung-hyok; as chairman of the steering committee, Father Han Chong-un. In 1973, it renamed itself as Ecumenical Modern Evangelical Consultative Body, and in 1975, along with the ROK Urban Industrial Evangelical Union it was dissolved into the ROK Church Social Evangelical Consultative Body.

Defining it as its objective "to make all who live in the churches (Catholic and Protestant) desirous of acquitting themselves fully of God's evangelical mission, in the urban, industrial, agricultural and student societies, independently and self-governingly solve their own problems in their individual lives and social problems in their own organizations and in their district society and to act to bring about a just, harmonious society," the consultative body elected Pastor Cho Sung-hyok as secretary general.

Participating as member organizations at that time were:

The Catholic side: The Junior Organization of Catholics, the Senior Organization of Catholics, and Catholic Farmers Association

The Protestant side: ROK Federation of Christian Students, ROK Council of Urban Industrialists, ROK Union of Industrial Missions, ROK YMCA Federation

On 25 September 1979, this consultative body which had been centered around organizations as its members, was dissolved into the ROK Church Social Evangelical Council centered around activists, which continues to this day.

This council is currently run by Chi Hak-sun (Catholic Bishop of Wonju) as chairman; Mun Tong-hwan (ROK Theological College professor), Kim Sung-hun (Father of Tongdaemun Catholic Church), and Cho Chi-song (Yejang Yongdungp'o Workers Church) as vice chairmen; Chim Pyong-t'ae (J.O.C. chairman) as secretary; In Myong-chin (Urban Industrial Mission) as treasurer; Cho Hwa-sun (Inch'on Urban Industrial Mission), Yi Kyu-sang (Kijang Urban Industrial Mission), Yi Ch'ang-pok (formerly executive director of ROK Church Social Evangelical Council), Chong Sang-pok (a department head of ROK Federation of Christian Students), Ho Pyong-sop (Tongwol Church), Yi Kil-chae (Director, secretariat of ROK Catholic Farmers Association), Pae Chong-nyol (Chonnam Christian Farmers Association), Kim Pong-sun (J.O.C. chairman) and Song Hae-yong (E.Y.C.) as members of the Executive council; Kim Yong-sung (Seoul Urban Industrial Mission) and An Kwang-su (Kyongsu Urban Industrial Mission as auditors; and So Kyong-sok as executive director.

In addition, the Urban Industrial Mission (Kijang, Yejang, and Methodist) holding industrial evangelism as its objective, has done a great deal to promote the expansion of workers' rights and interests and their democratic consciousness.

The Democratic Constitutional Government Tongjihoe

Broadly speaking, this is an organization of politicains of the opposition.

Most of them are those who are engaged in the restoration of democracy [the space for two characters is blank, apparently deleted], voluntarily declining to join a political party or the political movement. The organization claims a membership of 600,000 including some 60 ex-National Assemblymen, some 10 reserve general officers, some 70 in confinement, some 30 lawyers, some 60 religious personalities, professors and students, and that local organizations have been formed nationwide with political aspirants. But there is no way to confirm the figures. In the event that a new political party emerges in the future, it is believed that this Tongjihoe will become its organizational backbone. For this reason, the Tongjihoe is an object of interest.

At present, the Tongjihoe is conducting its business centered around its 15-man Guidance Committee, under which it has an Executive Committee consisting of some 20 members. Recently, the Tongjihoe has been putting more efforts into expanding the organization by amending its articles of association so as to allow even card-carrying political members to become members, provided they support its objectives. Its adviser is Pastor Yun Pan-ung, and the 15-member Guidance Committee consists of the following:

Kim Yun-sik (ex-National Assemblyman), Ye Ch'un-ho (National Assemblyman, New Democratic Party), Kim Chong-wan (politician), Kye Hun-che (member, Editorial Committee of "The Voice of Seed Grain"), Kim Ch'ung-sop (ex-member of Editorial Committee of YONGNAM ILBO), Yi Sang-ton (ex-National Assemblyman), Yu Ch'ong (ex-National Assemblyman), Kim Ch'ang-tong (ex-National Assemblyman), Kim Tal-su (ex-National Assemblyman), Kang Pong-nyong (ex-National Assemblyman), Yang Song-u (poet), Kim Sang-hyon (ex-National Assemblyman), Pak Chong-t'ae (ex-National Assemblyman), Yang Sun-chik (ex-National Assemblyman), Cho Chong-ho (Director of Secretariat of Yun Po-son; ex-National Assemblyman).

Meanwhile, it is known that Mun Ik-hwan, Kye Hun-che and Kim Kum-tong as the central figures are preparing to form ROK Political Offenders Tongjihoe with signatures already obtained from some 200 people centered around the political offenders under the yusin system.

The Tonga/Choson Free Press Protection Struggle Committees

On 24 October 1974, reporters of the TONGA ILBO and CHOSON ILBO held a rally for protection of the free press and adopted a "24 October" Declaration on Protection of the Free Press. In the declaration, stating that "we are painfully ashamed of the reality calling for the awakening of the journalists," they contended that "a free press is precisely the task we the journalists must practice ourselves, not something for which we must obtain the permission of the authorities, not something which the masses of people will bring us," and went on to "declare that accordingly, we will devote our all to the practice of a free press, the basic condition for the existence of a free, democratic society, never submitting to any pressure that runs counter to a free press." Then they passed the following 3-point resolution:

Item. We strongly repudiate, with unity and solidarity, any outside intervention in the newspapers, broadcasts, and magazines.

Item. We strictly deny the authorities entry [into our premises].

Item. We flatly disapprove the unlawful detention of journalists. In the event that an unlawful detention is perpetrated, whatever the pretext, we have decided not to leave our worksite until the person so detained returns to the company office.

After twists and turns in the ensuing months up to March of the following year, men of the press including 146 reporters (TONGA ILBO 114 reporters, CHOSON ILBO 32 reporters) were relieved of their jobs.

Even after that, they stuck together and fought together for a free press with the same zeal and sincerity. In the process, many reporters (such as Song Yu-po, Yi Pu-yong, Kim Chong-ch'ol, An Chong-pi, An Song-yol, Chang Yun-hwan, Pak Chong-man, Hong Chong-min, Chong Yon-chu, and Yi Ki-chung) were put behind bars, and three reporters (Cho Min-ki, Yi Ui-chik, and An Chong-pi) died. Today, when even most of the "discharged professors" have been reinstated, these reporters are yet to be reinstated.

The Opposition Lawyers

They are the so-called "emergency decree lawyers" who have continually worked for the protection of human rights and the democratization movement even under the yusin system.

Kang Sin-ok, Han Sung-hon Yi Tong-myong, Hong Song-u, Hwang In-ch'ol, Kim Chong-tu, Na Sok-ho, Pak Se-kyong, Yi Se-chung, and Ha Kyong-ch'ol served as defense counsel in many cases such as the "Minch'ong Hangnyon case" and "1 March Myong-tong case," contributing to the protection of their rights.

Up to now we have tried to put in a general perspective the processes of formation of many "democratic movement organizations" and opposition personalities--all of them might be described as constituting "the opposition forces."

But it could be that in addition to those described, there are many unknown people who consider themselves as being in the opposition. Even so, it is almost impossible to seek out each and every one of them and introduce here. Here, we have only tried to examine the general stream of the opposition forces which "have come up to the surface."

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PROBLEMS, PATTERNS OF KEPT LABOR UNIONS

Seoul WOLGAN CHUNGANG in Korean Jun 80 pp 310-325

[Article by Yi T'ae-ho, ex-reporter of TONGA ILBO: "The Kept Labor Unions and Their State of Being"]

[Text] The kept labor unions are pseudolabor collectives where the labor aristocrats and their followers or the forces manipulating them, reign over the workers, oblivious of the inherent duty of the labor union.

1. What Are the Problems of the Kept Labor Unions?

The fierce collective actions of miners of the Tongwon Coalfield greatly shocked us. In the background of this case we see the highhanded government labor policy, the inhuman view of the management toward the workers, and the unlawful behaviors of the kept labor union. The miserable state of the miners is not something that began yesterday or today. Nevertheless, the questionable point of the coal mine was that the long smoldering embers had suddenly exploded under martial law [the space for 15 characters is blank, apparently deleted], it would seem that the seriousness of it is being emphasized. Not that there was nothing questionable in the manner the miners of the Tongwon Coalfield had conducted their labor movement, which took on the character of a riot under existing laws, but the series of sit-in demonstrations that [other] workers have subsequently launched are also pursuing the same common objectives of "wage increase" and "resignation of kept labor unions."

What are the things, anyway, that the kept labor unions offered the workers? What are the backgrounds in the emergence of kept labor unions and what are their counterproductive functions affecting the normal activities of labor unions and ultimately, the labor movement? It would seem that many people, not to mention the internal personnel of the labor unions themselves, are focusing their concern on such questions. After all, kept labor unions are also one of the byproducts of the times. It is thought that the reason why the indictment and denunciation of kept [labor unions], especially those which are going too far and show no signs of self-reflection must be banished.

It is the public opinion that even the labor circles themselves could not afford to be unconcerned about such moves or go against the general trend. If anything, the possibility is growing that in the sector of the labor movement the effort to rectify and readjust the kept [labor unions] will be launched with continuing

violence. If such dark, tangled situation is to be prevented beforehand, it would seem that the opinion is being intensified in the direction that the formulators or executors of the labor policy, the cadres themselves of the kept labor unions, workers, and outside groups expressing concern about the labor problems, must all make a hardheaded analysis of the intrinsic nature of the behaviors of the kept labor unions and labor aristocrats and then launch stern rectification efforts. The question of banishing the kept labor unions which is being raised in certain quarters of the labor world will be able to firmly sustain its life force when pushed on the stand of social justice. Should this be turned into a scramble for leadership of the labor unions, it will lose its purity. In writing this article, short and untidy as it is, I would like to state in advance that I have been motivated by a desire to see the vitalization of labor unions and normalization of the labor movement.

2. The Pattern of Kept Labor Unions

The kept labor unions are pseudolabor collectives where the labor aristocrats and their followers or the forces manipulating them reign over the workers, oblivious of the inherent duty of the labor union. One might look upon this as a relic of the old system.

In his book "The Philosophy of Labor" historian Tannenbaum warns: "When the workers are unable to gain the basic means of security through enterprise and labor union, the state comes to intercede and take on the role for it. Once the state intercedes, the freedom of the day will be destroyed and men swallowed up in the immense powers of the state." One might consider this a warning to the workers who acquiesce to the incompetent, corrupt cadres of labor unions who have given up the will to protect their labor unions, or in their tyranny.

One might consider two factors responsible for the birth of kept labor unions. One is the appeasement by management and the other, the machinations by labor unions at a higher level.

In light of the labor climate in our country, it is commonplace and handy for management to suppress or appease its labor union where the problem lies. The National Chemical Union local for the C Commercial Company is a big one with some 23,000 members. For this company's labor union, it is provided that 1 shop steward be elected per 1 or 2 thousand union members, but practically all the shop stewards are company work team captains selected by the management, and in some cases, the work team captains, not to mention the union members, are not aware that they have been selected as shop stewards. It is alleged: "The director of this company's union local has studied in Japan by the grace bestowed on him by the company president." The business office of this company's union local is used as just another office of the company. In the case of the union local of I Steel Mill, it is known that the management has bribed all of the successive directors of the local. A candidate running for the post of director of the union local gets elected, criticizing the incompetence and corruption of his predecessor, but once elected, he repeats what his predecessor did, only to get replaced himself in the end. Thus subordinated to the management, the union local has invited the distrust of the union members. On 25 April this year, Mr U, director of the union local, was forced to render his

resignation by the union members who staged a sit-in demonstration, shouting "you, the kept union local director, step down," and went into hiding for fear of danger to his person.

Managements and Labor Unions at a Higher Level Give Birth to Kept Labor Unions

The attempts to establish kept labor unions at a lower level under manipulations by labor unions at a higher level are pregnant with a bigger questionable point. Let us take up a few instances related to this question on the level of the headquarters of industrial unions. The following is an abstract of a diary which shows how the female workers of the N Electronics Company in the course of forming their union overcame the attempt by a certain industrial union and manipulations by the management to turn theirs into a kept union. (Although somewhat lengthy, the following is quoted as a source material of reference.)

> Martial law is proclaimed on 26 October. Nine workers centered around night school students, get together on 28 October and discuss the future situation and our problem. We hear on 5 November that Pastor A of the Industrial Mission [Urban Industrial Mission, U.I.M.] is attempting to work out a labor-management discussion system. We reach a consensus on 21 November to independently conduct discussions, in anticipation of the advantages and disadvantages of the U.I.M. [proposal]. On 5 December, company's standing director N calls in Miss L, one of the night school students, for discussion on improvement of labor conditions. We reject the labor-management discussion system for now. On 19 December we talk about our country's situation and recession. The opinion is advanced that if the martial law lasts long, then the labor-management discussion system should be adopted now and the labor union formed later. On 22 December, a night school teacher and a reprenentative of workers hold talks. On 27 December, we the nine workers decide to accept the labor-management discussion system. On 30 December, 30 workers hold a year-end party. At twelve noon this day, the company's standing director N calls in Miss L of our team and tries to appease her, saying "if you stay, the company stands to suffer losses, so leave the company, as we will give you 1 million won." We work our countermeasures. If we reject this suggestion, the next step the company will take will be dismissal. So we decide to resolutely go ahead and form the labor union. On 31 December, standing director N comes to visit Miss L at her home and persuasively tries to plead with her to leave the company if only for the sake of her parents at her native place, as the company will provide her with living expenses for one year. On 2 January, standing director N again visits Miss L at her home and tells her to come to the H Coffee Shop at 1300 hours on 4 January without reporting to work on that day, as he will hand over to her 1 million won there. We decide to report to work and inform the entire employees of this fact and to institute inquiries first at the Office of Labor, the Martial Law Command, the Police and the parent union headquarters in that order, as to our plan for forming a labor union.

We report to work on 4 January and find the time cards of Miss L and Miss S missing. The management insists "they must leave as they were dismissed as of the 31st." Miss S, leaving her worksite early, goes to the Office of Labor. There, she learns the telephone number of the parent union headquarters. The labor supervisor of the Kwanak Station of the Office of Labor tells her "Martial law has nothing to do with labor unions. But you must file assembly notice 24 hours in advance." At 1930 hours on that day, deputy director L of the organizational department of the National Metal Workers Union headquarters, and Miss S, now a discharged worker, meet at the J Coffee Shop, Tongdaemun. Mr L says: "Even under martial law, labor unions can be formed. I will hold myself responsible for the formation of your labor union. The same goes for a solution to the question of your dismissal." On 5 January, we telephone Mr L of the Metal Workers Union only to be told that he left the office early. We have a premonition that he may have sold out our labor union. It is rumored that the cadres of the South Seoul Regional Headquarters of the Metal Workers Union are using union members. We get together and make a dry run of the inaugural meeting. On 6 January, company standing director Na and discharged Miss L meet at the company president's residence. To persuade her to work with zeal in the future, burying the hatchet.

Do Not Accept the Application for Formation of a Labor Union

On the morning of 7 January, we visit the Seoul Regional Headquarters of the Metal Workers Union and hold talks. Mr L, director of the organizational department of the Seoul Regional Headquarters, talks over the telephone with Mr L, director of the South Seoul Regional Headquarters. At 1900 hours on the same day, four of them, the two Mr L's, Miss L, and Miss S, meet at the J Coffee Shop. The two regional directors promise to have our union formed on the 9th. The four of them again meet at the M Coffee Shop on 8 January. South Seoul Regional Headquarters director L says: "It is impossible to form it under martial law," "if you file an application for assembly, the Martial Law Command gets in touch with the company, and you will be discharged," and "it is possible to form labor unions under martial law, but because the powers that be do not like it, they put the parent union headquarters in a difficult position. Once the martial law is lifted, we will have your union formed."

On 9 January, two workers visit director L at his South Seoul Regional Headquarters and plead for the formation of our labor union. Now Mr L brazenly says: "The parent Metal Workers Union has sent down a directive not to accept the application for formation of your labor union. Do as you please. But let me tell you, if the regional headquarters refuses it you can't do it." The discharged worker, Miss L, meets with the company president. The company president tells her: "We have received a telephone call from the director of the South Seoul Regional Headquarters. He says 'There is a move to form a labor union at your company, and that means a big trouble. I am the director of the regional headquarters but for me, too, it will not do if the labor union is formed.'" This gives us a shock.

On 10 January, it seems as if a kept union is going to be formed. So we vow to form our union independently. On 11 January, we file an application for assembly with the Karibong Police Substation. On 12 January, Miss S meets with Mr K of the Seoul Regional Headquarters of the United Workers Union. We cancel the inaugural meeting originally scheduled for the 12th. On 13 January, the management, saying it has been contacted by the police substation, questions us why we wanted to form a union without contacting the management. At a meeting held at 1800 hours on that day with a man and a standing director of the management, factory manager, 2 women work team captains, and 2 Q.C. [as given] attending, it is resolved to form a labor union. They force the workers to affix their seals to the application for joining the Metal Workers Union.

On 14 January, the United Workers Union files an application for assembly. At 2000 hours on 15 January, 32 persons meet at the Map'o office of the United Workers Union and hold the inaugural meeting for a labor union. Miss L is made the director of the local. At the same hour, forcing the workers to do overtime work, the management holds the inaugural meeting for a labor union, with the company president and Chemical Workers Union cadres in attendance. At 1030 hours on 16 January, Miss L and a cadre of the United Workers Union go to the ku office and file notice of the formation of our union local. On 17 January, the ku office passes the information that it has also received a notice from the Chemical Workers Union. The regional director of the United Workers Union passes the information that he was told: "The Chemical Workers Union had no thought of forming a local but as the company has repeatedly asked, it has formed the local." On 21 January, the notice of our side is returned. It is reported that the notice of the Chemical Workers Union has been validated as of the 17th, the day it was filed.

On 23 January, the regional director of the United Workers Union tells us: "We have received the validated notice from the Chemical Workers Union and it has been informally decided to accept the people of the Chemical Workers Union side as cadres of the local. This decision has been made as a matter of policy. So accept it for now. As we absolutely will not become a kept one like the Chemical Workers Union, trust us and hold a general meeting and turn it into yours." On 1 February, Miss L of our side and Mr K, whom the Chemical Workers Union and the management push, pay a visit to the Regional Headquarters of the United Workers Union. Mr K insists that he will not step down as director of the local. The director of the regional headquarters says that there is nothing that can be done, inasmuch as the director of the local insists on remaining in his position. On 2 February, the notice of change to the United Workers Union is validated.

The Yongdungp'o-ku Office Disregards the Acceptance Procedures

On 3 February we rush to the home of Chairman Chong Tong-ho of the Chemical Workers Union. After a two-hour wait in the rain outside the gate, they see him and protest "What's the idea of playing games such as

forming a labor union and then handing it over? What went on behind the scenes for turning the local for which we filed the notice first, into a kept one? Explain!" Chong says: I don't know. Now that it has been turned over to the United Workers Union, go and discuss the matter with them." On 4 February, we go to the headquarters of the Chemical Workers Union and lodge a protest, demanding "cancellation of the kept labor union." At 1800 hours on 3 March, 150 workers meet in the dining hall and begin a sit-in. They shout: "We absolutely cannot recognize a kept labor union," "chairmen of the Metal Workers Union, Chemical Workers Union, United Workers Union, and the director of the Yongdungp'o-ku office (on the ground that he switched the order in which the notices were filed for validation), come and make a public apology!" and "we will fight to the death until this matter is resolved." The police haul away in paddy wagons, 75 female workers out of those staging an all-night sit-in, and disperse the remaining workers by force. From the evening of 5 March to the morning of the 6th, 59 workers stage an overnight sit-in. On 7 March, some 40 workers rush to the Map'o Regional Headquarters of the United Workers Union. The police surround them. They shout: "Call out the regional director of the United Workers Union. You have formed the labor union in favor of our side but you are following the orders of the Chemical Workers Union. Why? Sign a memorandum pledging that Mr K and his gang whom the Chemical Workers Union have put up front, will step down."

On 8 March, we denounce: "Metal Workers Union, don't sell out labor unions any more." We decide to visit in turn the home of the Chemical Workers Union Chairman Chong Tong-ho, the Chemical Workers Union headquarters, the Federation [of Korean Trade Unions], and the United Workers Union headquarters and make noises, until our question is solved. Once we capture Mr K, regional director of the United Workers Union, who is evading us, we decide to club him to death. On 9 March, deciding to stage a "demo" at the celebration of Labor Day scheduled to be held the next day, we prepare "placards." At 0900 hours on 10 March, the first wave of 8 demonstrators in front of the National Theater hold up the placards "Kept labor unions, step down!" but the police take them away. Mistaking plainclothesmen for cadres of kept labor unions, we throw insulting words at them, bite the, and tear their clothes. The 8 demonstrators are beat up as they are taken into custody, first taken to the Chungbu Police Station and then transferred to the Nambu Police Station. After interrogation, they are released at 2350 hours.

On 16 March, a mediation proposal is advanced by the Nambu Police Station. The proposal is for Mr K, whom the Chemical Workers Union and the company management have conspired to put up front, to resign. In return, the proposal is also for our side to withdraw Miss L as director of the local and hold a general meeting anew. On 17 March, Mr K, regional director of the United Workers Union makes a strange contention that "the membership of the local must include managerial employees of the company" but we reject this contention. On 25 March, we make a dry run of the general meeting. We decide to occupy the platform in the event that the regional director of the United Workers Union presides at the meeting in a lopsided manner. On 26 March, Mr K tenders

his resignation as director of the local. At 1900 hours the general meeting is held. Two female workers, Miss P, Miss L of our side, are elected as director and deputy director of the local, respectively. On 27 March, 10 members of the new and old Executive Departments meet with the company president and promise to work hard. On 1 April, the filing of notice with the ku office is completed. We cry with joy for having won victory, repelling the kept union.

The above instance shows significance that is more than a simple scramble for the jurisdictional right of a labor union. It might be said that this significance lies in that the activist union members intent on untying the knots of the kept union tangled like the tentacles of an octopus have brought with their steadfastness the matter to a successful conclusion by realizing the resignation of the kept labor union.

Phantom Labor Unions, the Ultimate of Kept Labor Unions

Let us examine a little more systematically the process of formation of kept labor unions. The pattern of kept labor unions is also determined here.

First, the regional headquarters of kept labor unions conspire with company management prior to the formation of a local. It is known that Pak Un-yang, director of the Seoul Garment Regional Headquarters of the Fiber Workers Union, has been receiving monthly honorariums in excess of 50,000 won each from many companies such as Y industrial Company in Yongdungp'o, Seoul, on condition that no locals will be formed. Such instances which constitute malfeasance, inasmuch as they are conducted very covertly, seldom come to the surface, generally speaking. Instances such as Pak's have been confirmed by those cadres who have been driven from their post of director of a local, as his opposition forces. As cited earlier, the South Seoul Regional Headquarters of the Metal Workers Union after promising to help for a labor union at the N electronics company, backed away. This behavior, too, is suspect that after receiving money from the workers, it sold out the labor union, that is, suspicion of being kept.

Second, even when industrial unions or their **reginals** consent to the formation of a local (or a regional), there are instances that they leave it entirely up to the company to form its executive department. In such event, a big kept labor union takes the form of illicit collusion with the company in order to beget a small mercenary labor union. If, in the instance of the N electronics company cited earlier, the Chemical Workers Union helped form the local, consenting to the appointment of someone recommended by the company to the post of the director of the local, then it could not but be a "miniature edition of being kept" as charged by the workers.

The Seoul Garment Regional Headquarters of the Fiber Workers Union carried out the inaugural meeting for the D fiber company local at a picnic of the cadres of the company in 1972. It was understood that they had not given the company prior notice. Attending the concurrently held picnic and inaugural meeting were Seoul Garment cadres, company cadres, captains of work teams and subwork teams of the company. As the first director of the local, a deputy chief of a department of the company, Mr K was elected. It is said that for many years, the workers did not even know that their labor union had been formed.

In the event that a labor union of a higher level has formed a labor union of a lower level secretly in conspiracy with a company, this could not but be a "phantom labor union" as far as most of the union members are concerned. A "phantom labor labor union" might be looked upon as the ultimate of kept labor unions. It is known that phantom labor unions are widespread at businesses such as H industrial company, Y industrial company, D industrial company, D fiber company, S enterprise, S commercial company and K duty-free company, all locals under the Seoul Garment Regional Headquarters of the National Fiber Workers Union.

In the case of locals of rubber factories such as H commercial company under the National Chemical Workers Union or in the case of the H Synthetic fiber company under the National Fiber Workers Union, too, they are betraying their true colors as phantom with their shop stewards appointed at all, as selected by the company, forcing the workers "to surrender their seals."

It is pointed out that the National Automotive Operators Union has under it an even larger number of such phantom unions. Launching a campaign "Let Us Purge the Labor Movement of Irrationalities and Labor Aristocrats" in August 1977, the magazine MANAGEMENT AND LABOR stated with tongue in cheek: "We frequently use taxicabs and whenever we ask the drivers 'Are you a union member?' most of them answer 'No' or some of them answer by asking 'Is there such thing as labor unions?' Again, when riding buses, we ask the conductors 'Are you a union member?' and they usually give an incredible 'No. We don't know what a labor union is.'"

Cadres of the National Automotive Operators Union, rushing to the office of the magazine, raised a racket, destroying furniture and equipment, demanding "Retract the article. It is damaging our prestige."

Union Members Are Unaware That Their Company Is Paying Their Union Dues

Labor unions of a higher level are quietly collecting union dues from phantom unions, or more precisely, from the companies. A representative example is seen in the phantom union case at Inson Company, producers of the (?Knott) Albums. After the inaugural meeting for the formation of an Inson Company local of the National Chemical Workers Union on 21 April 1977, the Inson Company workers went to visit the headquarters of the National Chemical Workers Union, only to learn that the Inson Company had already joined the National Printing Workers Union. The case distinguished itself by creating a social issue. The National Printing Workers Union had held the inaugural meeting for the formation of the Inson Company local on 30 March 1975, without the knowledge of the members of the local, selecting a Mr An, a section chief of the company's business department, as the director of the local.

In answer to the protest of the Inson Company workers "how could there be a labor union whose supposed members don't know anything about it?" the Printing Workers Union calmly answered: "Up to now, we have been receiving union dues every month and as we understand it, the union is doing well." For its part, the company management stunned the workers by answering: "The president of the Inson Company, out of his compassion to lessen the burder of the union members, if only a little, has been paying the union dues, cutting back his golfing activities. Is this wrong? If anything, the president has been too compassionate."

Of course, the company management ruthlessly retaliated upon the workers for having formed another union unaware of the earlier one, discharging or beating them up. A considerable number of the maintenance workers under the National Automotive Operators Union, too, are unaware of their union because there have been no deductions for union dues from their wages. A certain maintenance worker, who went to visit the [union] headquarters early last April to inquire about forming a union, was told that he and his colleagues had long been union members. That was the first time he learned of the union, he says. In this case, the National Automotive Operators Union collects union dues from its Maintenance Workers Regional Headquarters which collects them from the local. Most of the dues are paid by the company.

Third, in many cases the kept labor unions meddle in the management of the lower level unions with a view to removing those cadres critical of the management of the union, who are undesirable in the eyes of the cadres of the lower level union or the company. Mr P, director of the Seoul Garment Regional Headquarters of the National Fiber Workers Union, is known to have played the leading role in expelling or discharging Miss K, director of the H fiber company local; Miss S, director of the local of No 1 sewing factory of the H products company; Mr J, director of the I enterprise local; and Mr J, director of the H fiber company local.

Cadres of the kept labor unions are intent on removing opposition elements in the organizations under their umbrella and putting their own faithful servants in their places. This method is welcome by no small number of union cadres because it reduces the burden of the companies concerned and at the same time, facilitates their own efforts as kept union cadres to remain in power for long.

Fourth, the kept labor unions, using the system of the forces in power as an excuse, nibble away at the organizations under their umbrellas or infringe the rights of union members under their umbrellas. It might be said that the recent dispute between the Seoul Bus Regional Headquarters and the Posong Transportation local is a very good example of it. Mr C. former director of the local owned 1 bus, the general affairs department chief 2 buses, and the welfare department chief 1 microbus. Mr C, director of the local, resigned last February several days prior to the expiration of his term. Treating Posong Transportation local as a trouble-maker local on the grounds that "we must maintain the general harmony yusin system and we must maintain an uninterrupted forward movement," Mr L, director of the Seoul Bus Regional Headquarters, as acting director of the local. Mr K blatantly meddled in the election of shop stewards, advising the union members to vote for certain specific candidates. Suggesting "let us elect 18 shop stewards for the local the yusin way," he put forward a proposal for the Executive Department and non-executive departments of the local of the Seoul Bus Regional Headquarters to recommend 6 candidates each. This was a yusin system idea designed to make the election decisively favorable to the party forces in power by making the Yujonghoe, the Republican Party, and the New Democratic Party win one-third each of the shop stewards.

Members of the local rejected this strange proposal. Thereupon Mr K withdrew the proposal for nomination by the regional headquarters and put forward an alternative plan for nomination of 9 candidates each by the Executive Department and non-executive departments. The local rejected this proposal too. Mr K, who was installed by the regional headquarters, formally announced the registration of candidates on

the morning of 31 March. He, who was concurrently chairman of the election management committee, had the office emptied on the registration day in an attempt to prevent those other than the nominees of the regional headquarters from running as candidates. He had ordered that the registration forms must not be given to other officials of the local without his permission. But as the would-be candidates came rushing to the registration office, he declared "the election has been overheated. Let's do it the general harmony system way" and formally announced on the morning of 2 April, that the election was postponed indefinitely.

Mr K and other cadres of the Seoul Bus Regional Headquarters, mobilizing the maintneance workers at the polling place on the election day, 23 April, resorted to violence and created an atmosphere of fear even as they had earlier briefed the conductresses in an effort to force them to support certain specific candidates. The drivers of the Posong Transportation local are still protesting "Do you think the election is in order, however illegal, as long as you put yun up front?"

The Kept Labor Unions Acquiescing in Work Without Compensation

It is known that there are great many cases wherein the kept labor unions on the excuse of government measures--for example, "the regional devement movement" [saemaul undong]--did nothing about forced labor. Strictly speaking, when enterprise proprietors impose extra labor on the workers in the cause of the regional development movement, the labor unions concerned betray how well kept they are by acquiescing or aiding in it. Always cited as a representative example is the case of the Pangnim Textile workers who in 1977 staged a sit-in and demonstration refusing forced labor and demanding the payment of back pay (overtime allowances). For several months from September 1977, the Pangnim Textile workers shouted "Let us report for work on time and leave on time," "Let us do no work without compensation," and "Let us get our remuneration for the extra work we have performed 30 minutes to 1 hour 30 minutes every day for several years." In an appeal addressed to the cadres of the Nationa Fiber Workers Union regional headquarters in charge of the Pangnim Textile local, the workers stated: "Cadres of the labor union, please help us workers. Why is it that you are not yet taking corrective steps when the company is still forcing us to work without compensation? Why can't the shop stewards posted at every worksite positively work against this state of affairs? Moreover, why is it that some of the shop stewards, siding with the company, are taking the lead in imposing forced labor on us?

Taking the lead in this movement were female workers who are members of the Urban Industrial Mission. They contended that "the wage for the work performed without pay for several years by some 6,000 employees of Pangnim Textile is estimated at 1.6 billion won." The regional director in charge of this company's local is Yi Ch'un-son, vice chairman of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions. He was passive throughout this movement. As the union centered around Mr Yi was stalling before this question, a committee to cope with the back pay of Pangnim Textile (chairman: Kong Tok-kwi) was formed on 29 September 1977. The committee in its statement laid down a 5-point demand such as "Pangnim Textile, before reinvesting in its reproduction facilities the money made by paying murderous low wages to the workers, pay the back wages at once and join the ranks of conscientious humans for redistribution of income" and "Federation of Korean Trade Unions, Chemical Workers Union, and the regional headquarters in charge of the Pangnim Textile's local, instead of looking

away from the sufferings of the workers any longer and aware of their inherent duties for the protection of rights and interests of the workers, come back to the side of the workers and join forces with all the workers in getting the back pay from Pangnim Textile."

The cry of the female workers fighting against the lack of concern of the labor union was very sad. "We work without a break and naturally we get sleepy when doing nighttime work. So, in order to stay awake, many of our colleagues are inevitably compelled to take a stimulant drug called "Timing" to stay awake. Some of them are suffering from the "Timing syndrome" from taking the drug excessively. In the summer our worksiteis more like a steam room of over 40 degrees and not only our underwear but also our outer garments get soaked in sweat. Still, you people say our company is a model company. How much worse are the other companies to make our company a model one? Even if it were true that our company is a model one, it is an undeniable fact that we the workers at the bottom rung of the ladder have been forced to work like machine, treated as if we were beasts of burden. We want you to pay us the wage we deserve."

Such appeal of the workers and effort of the outside organization in the fact of lack of concern of the labor union, even gave birth to a groundless rumor that "the infiltration of ourside forces is ruining the company." Yi Ch'un-son, the regional director, branded the female workers "extreme radicals incited by outside forces," and the female workers called Mr Yi "a lackey of the company, a kept labor aristocrat."

3. The Attributes of Kept Labor Unions

One might say that those who lead the kept labor unions are the privileged circles of the labor world called labor aristocrats and the incompetent, corrupt lower-level cadres. Let us examine the attributes of the kept labor unions from the dimensions of the behaviors of the labor aristocrats and their betrayal in the management of labor unions.

Essentially, the term "labor aristocrats" is self-contradictory. The workers and aristocrats are historically incompatible in concept. Nonetheless, such two concepts, bridging the gap between social standing and class, have become a contemporary term in its own right. This cannot but be a tragedy of our time.

"The labor aristocrats" have consolidated their positions under the aegis of the yusin system, but as they became the target of scathing denunciation by the workers, they are assessed as part of the ringleaders who brought about the breakdown of "kungmin ch'onghwa" [general harmony of the people] which the yusin system had emphasized as if it were a religion. In the fierce demonstrations and slogans of the workers which have been dynamically arising of late, is seen the hatred against them.

"The Committee to Expedite Normalization of the National Fiber Workers Union" which was formed last January, sought the resignation of Kim Yong-t'ae as chairman of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions and as chairman of the National Fiber Workers Union, and subsequently in the latter part of last March, issued the following statement: "'The Committee to Expedite Normalization of the National Fiber Workers

Union,' with a view to positively launching activities for wage increase and improvement of labor conditions which directly bear on the question of survival of you comrade union members, has strongly demanded the resignation of Chairman Kim Yong-t'ae, the target of denunciation by union members and all strata of society, and the normalization of the Fiber Workers Union. But rather than repenting the outlandish wrongdoings he has committed, he has spent a great deal of money to advertise in the newspapers a statement that he has committed no wrongdoings, perpetrating the blatant machination to lay the blame for his wrongdoings at the door of the entire organized people."

"The Committee to Expedite Purification of the National Automotive Operators Union" (Chairman: Ch'oe In-sok) which was formed last April, stated in its prospectus "we cannot but denounce the irrationalities such as breach of trust, embezzlement, and misappropriation of every description being perpetrated by Chi Yong-t'aek and his vicious followers must resign immediately, instead of remaining any longer in their posts to pursue their ugly interests." Even though they are not the only ones against whom the charges of "labor aristocrats" could be leveled and the charges might be misinterpreted because they are coupled with personal attacks, the charges are supported by numerous data of a serious nature and the denunciation is unusually intense. In view of this fact, the labor world regards the charges and denunciation as more serious than a mere leadership scramble.

The Labor Aristocrats Who Regard Themselves as the Vanguard for Government Policies

Let us examine the philosophy and action base of the labor aristocrats. First, the labor aristocrats are a group which, tightly bonding itself to the powers that be and unanimously following them, has been regarding itself as vanguard for the dissemination and practice of government policies. For example, Kin Yong-t'ae, Chairman of the Pusan Regional Headquarters of the Fiber Workers Union, Chairman of the Pusan Council of the Federation of Korean Trade Union, Chariman of the Fiber Workers Union, and a delegate to the National Conference for Unification, takes pride in his 30-year experience in the labor movement, but his opposition charges (according to a Mr O of the Fiber Workers Union) "he has been hanging on to his positions, using hypocrisy, vile language, intimidation, and blackmail."

Among the cadres of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, Chi Yong-t'aek is acknowledged as a man of preeminent resourcefulness close to the ruling circles. He was once imprisoned, involved in the reform movement immediately following the 19 April incident, but ever since joining the Automotive Operators Union in 1964, he has rapidly risen in rank to the chairmanship of the Rapid Transit Bus Regional Headquarters of the Automotive Operators Union, chief of the secretariat of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, vice chairman of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, and chairman of the National Automotive Operators Union. In the process, he has amassed a large fortune. He, too, has built the base for his success by becoming a self-styled standard bearer of the yusin labor movement.

Mr C, chairman of the National Chemical Workers Union, also advocated the regional development movement during his second term. Also, Pae Sang-ho, ex-chairman of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, was mentioned in a labor report released by a research institute in Japan as a character "known to have close relations with the KCIA."

Second, the labor aristocrats ruthlessly dispose of cadres or union members who criticize them and regard as their enemies even outside organizations which point up the corrupt practices of the kept labor unions. For example, Kim Yong-t'ae, convening an extraordinary general meeting of shop stewards on 23 January 1978, amended the articles of association as one of dictatorship. That is, among other things the articles of association, as amended, empower the Executive Department of the Headquarters to determine troublemaker regionals and make the chairman of a regional so designated hand over his powers to an ad hoc committee appointed by the headquarters chairman.

By amendment he also made it possible, in the event that a regional official falls under a certain category of cause, to expel or suspend the official by a resolution of the headquarters central committee, eliminating the earlier provisions requiring concurrence of the elective organ concerned. Moreover, by making amendment to empower the headquarters central committee to punish offending regional officials, more especially to remove the regional organization itself, he exercised his omnipotent powers for a time. There are no small number of cases in which the chairmen of other industrial unions, who have not made such amendments, have also maintained their monopolistic positions, forcing their "rivals" or critics to resign by resorting to the technique of suspending, expelling, or restricting them or encouraging organizational disputes.

The labor aristocrats hate so-called "outside forces" as if they were snakes. The outside forces, i.e., outside groups, include students, intellectuals, and religious personalities. The fact of the matter is that branding the Federation of Korean Trade Unions as "a kept federation," they have taken on part of the task to make the workers conscious. The labor aristocrats are reacting fiercely especially to the Urban Industrial Mission (U.I.M.) and the Junior Organization of Catholics (J.O.C.).

For example, in his keynote speech at the educational meeting of the action group held at the Trade Union Federation Hall on 28 February 1978, former chairman of the federation Chong Tong-ho emphasized: "Certain subversives, infiltrating labor union organizations under the camouflage of religion, are causing organizational disputes and social chaos. We must fight against religions from now on. The Vietnam War also failed on account of religions. We must fight against them as action group members with the strength of a several-million-strong organization."

Kim Yong-t'ae is known to have been a member of an ultrarightist band of thugs. After playing the leading role in having 124 female workers dismissed from the Tongil Textile, he showed his utmost loyalty, going to the extent of sending formal letters to worksites in many regions such as Pusan not to hire them on the ground that they had been involved with an "unsavory organization" (meaning the Urban Industrial Mission), thus depriving the discharged female workers of their right to living.

At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Fiber Workers Union on 6 March 1978, he claimed "W.C.C. (World Council of Churches) is a worldwide red organization."

Accustomed as he is to making vulgar talks at official and private meetings, Kim Yong-t'ae, of all the kept cadres of the federation, released to the mass media the shocking fact (?) [as given] "the female workers of Tongil Textile were carrying poison needles in their brassieres" at a time when following the Y.H. Industrial

Company case, the entire mass media were selling out the Urban Industrial Mission based on government information. The female workers sued him on the ground that "his utterance was a vicious slander and defamation." The female workers strongly reacted, stating "Has he actually looked into our brassieres? We vow to drive out such low-grade labor thug."

Their Private Life No Less Luxurious Than That of Business Proprietors

Third, by leading a life of luxury, the labor aristocrats are making themselves a target of workers' resentment. In this "report" on their private life, we will not name names in full. Most of them live in residences each worth more than 100 million won.

Mr C, ex-chairman of the Trade Union Federation, has a large ranch in a Seoul suburb, and another Mr C proudly tells those close to him "I collect high-class cameras as a hobby, I have in my collection some 20 foreign made cameras each costing 2 million won," and critics point out that "for his sons' barbering, he takes them to a first-class hotel barbershop, takes lunch at a first-class hotel restaurant, and even takes his coffee at a first-class hotel coffee shop."

In addition to the cadres of the headquarters of the Trade Union Federation, there was a case in which Mr L, chairman of a regional of the Automotive Operators Union, "asked a certain 'salon' on Myong-tong to inform him first as soon as special foreign-made clothing materials and accessories arrived." He proudly said "I was the first to wear 'mongt'ak' [meaning unclear]. This necktie and shirt are Paris-made." Among the labor aristocrats there is one who is wearing a Rolex watch worth 1.5 million won. The wife of one of the cadres of the Trade Union Federation is rumored to be one of the loan sharks in Yongdungp'o. Mr P, another cadre of the federation, is acknowledged as a real estate investor. They are all moving around in high-class private cars. In the case of Mr C, it is rumored that he trades in his car for a newer one every six months. There was a case in which one of them, nominally appointing his driver as director of one of his regionals, put him on union payroll.

The director of one of the regionals of the Fiber Workers Union in a regional city used to have his wife use their private car even for going marketing, and at one time, running into a workers demonstration, she had a difficult time.

Their private life as union cadres is quite varied, but only to cite their behaviors as the object of criticism: Mr K of the Trade Union Federation has four private cars. He is rumored to have three mistresses. He defensively explains: "I an no deer [whose antlers are used as an aphrodisiac]. I don't even have a good X [phallic] erection. It is a charity... ."

It is known that one of the labor aristocrats fond of frequenting "night clubs" has his private car equipped with a special type of a bed. They are fond of aphrodisiacs. Mr P, who has held a variety of high-ranking cadre positions of the Trade Union Federation, is known to have asked "buy for me good aphrodisiacs" every time federation cadres went abroad on detached duties. The wife of Mr L, director of a frontline regional of the Mining Workers Union, is said to have told people around

her: "My husband has been keeping separate homes in Seoul from the beginning. It is said he has two mistresses there. I am a wife in name only." The labor aristocrats, it is reported, give "tips" in the hundreds of thousands of won when enjoying themselves at clandestine restaurants.

The Right To Be Elected As Director of a Union Local Restricted

It is pointed out that irrationalities are seen in the management of kept labor unions by the labor aristocrats--whether industrial unions, regionals, or locals. It is pointed out that Kim Yong-t'ae, who is being lately urged to resign by the Committee to Expedite Normalization of the Fiber Workers Union, "when running in the election for Chairman of the Trade Union Federation in October 1979 (he got elected), obtained a loan of 5 million won from a certain branch office of Cheil Bank, surrendering as a collateral a bank savings passbook for a special funds of the Fiber Workers Union Headquarters in the amount of 8 million won and used the loan proceeds for settlement of his debts to restaurants, yet laid the responsibility at the door of those such as the chief of the secretariat, claiming he knew nothing about it." It is further pointed out that it was he who, "spending a lot of the Union money for the alleged purpose of settling the Tongil Textile dispute, turned the labor-management dispute into an organizational dispute.

The committee to expedite normalization stated that he, Kim Yong-t'ae, "did not even report 15 million won stolen when Room 308 of the Kyongbuk Hotel, Seoul, where he was staying, was burglarized." This fact came to be widely known for the first time when all the newspapers in their 27 December editions reported the arrest of the burglar. As Kim Yong-t'ae was identified as the victim, at first he claimed "it is not my money" but then later said, raising his voice, "is it a big deal that the chairman should be carrying that much money around with him?" But the question was, in the stolen 15 million won there were two checks made out by the Kukche Textile group each in the amount of 1 million won. This company's labor union is the one that caused a labor-management dispute (the workers insist that they sought self-salvation measures in direct confrontation with the management's machinations to destroy the labor union) in which a dozen workers were discharged and some 50 union cadres were taken into custody or indicted.

The Committee to Expedite Normalization of the Fiber Workers Union, reminding such incident, scathingly criticized, going to the extent of declaring "it could not but brand Kim [Yong-t'ae] as a second Yi Wan-yong [one of the leaders of the rubber-stamp Korean government who signed the so-called Korean-Japanese Annexation Draft on 22 August 1910] who sold out 180,000 members (of the Fiber Workers Union)." Unfazed, he insists, toe to toe, "should it come to pass that I have to step down from the chairmanship, I will blow the Fiber Workers Union to smithereens."

It is pointed out that Mr J, Chairman of the Automotive Operators Union, violated the provisions of Section 22 of the Labor Union Law for the right to participation in the management of a labor union when he enforced the registration system for the running in the election of the director of a local under the Rapid Transit Bus Regional. A Mr C of the Automotive Operators Union exposed "Mr J and his followers are systematizing it as an essential condition for running as candidates for director of the local to attach a certificate of the candidate's seal together with the financial guarantees of two who pay property tax each in excess of 5,000 won.

Such system is in fact a regulation enabling nobody but one whom the company sponsors, to sit as director of the local. It is causing the criticism that this is a toxic provision which brings to mind the unequal election system of Britain early in the modern period. As was seen in the pattern of kept labor unions, some regionals of the Automotive Operators Union are being operated with the dues paid in by the employers, not the union members, and in turn, the regionals with this money are paying in dues to the parent union. It goes without saying that the irrational phenomena in the management of labor unions are not limited to the Fiber Workers Union or the Automotive Operators Union.

Protection Extended by Authorities Is Used as a Weapon for Oppression

Second, the management of kept labor unions is being conducted in the direction of betraying the union members. Such characteristics are contained in the concept of being kept. It is a fact recognized by everybody that one of the factors responsible for the fierce struggle of the miners of the Tongwon Coalfield lay in the act of betrayal on the part of Director Yi Chae-ki of the local. In the case of the Mining Workers Union, the difference in life between the labor aristocrats and their fellow mining workers black with coal dust, is as marked as between heaven and earth. The kept cadres under the Mining Workers Union are privileged circles. It came to light that they were in a position to execute at will their monthly budget in the neighborhood of 10 million won.

But because they frequently followed the wage guidelines of the company, the union cadres looked away from the demands of union members, thus causing their indignation. Their indignation against Yi Chae-ki exploded in the ruthless "lynching" of his wife, and such act might be interpreted as an admonition administered to the kept labor unions and labor aristocrats in general.

It was also on account of Yu Kap-sik being a kept director of the local that the workers of the Oryudong Mill of Ilssin Steel Co., Ltd. staged a strike "demonstration" on 25 April this year. As some 700 workers staged a "demonstration" inside the company, demanding the resignation of Yu Kap-sik and a 40 percent wage increase, they destroyed the furniture and equipment of the office of the director of the local.

Some 300 workers of Taedong Chemical, Seoul, who began a sit-in from 1800 hours on 14 April this year, also demanded "realization of a wage increase and self-reflection of the kept director of the local" among other things. Too, some 400 workers of T'aeyang Metal, Seoul, who staged a sit-in at 0800 hours on 28 April demanded "the resignation of the phony director of the local and a 40 percent wage increase," etc. The director of this company's local is the chief of a clerical section of the company. In their resolution, self-deprecatingly stating "We the workers who do not have a union..." the workers shouted a 5-point slogan such as "normalize the labor union," pointing out "the management has been cheating many provisions such as Section 38 and Section 47 of the Labor Standard Law and perpetrating invisible exploitation."

It does not seem likely that the continually spreading sit-ins and demonstrations of the workers might be resolved by the defensive explanations of cadres of kept labor unions or the coercive measures of the police.

Third, there are cases where the view prevails that the management of kept labor unions is achieved through the tacit approval of the authorities concerned or through their cooperation. Mr C, a cadre of the Federation of Korean Trade Unions, said "I have behind me the powers that be. So, do as you are told," and it is thus known that they have solid ties with the authorities concerned. Mr K, another cadre, said "we have to be anticommunist if we are to survive, don't we? The unions must be quiet, otherwise the northern puppets will come down in no time. We have a handy way to deal with intractable scoundrels," thus intimidating critical labor union cadres or workers.

It is a widely known fact that labor union cadres, at one time [the space for six characters is blank, apparently deleted] inviting a Mr Hong as their favorite lecturer for a steadfast criticism, charging the Industrial Mission "with using red tactics." It has become an open secret around the Trade Union Federation "whoever wishes to run as a candidate in the election of chairman of the Trade Union Federation, cannot even think of doing so without the cooperation or support of the authorities concerned." That the election campaign to elect the chairman is conducted with a big money bag is proved by what those people who have received such money say. Mr K, one of the elders of the labor world, says: "The fact that throughout the yusin period, no one on the level of chairmen of industrial unions under the federation has been taken into custody in violation of the presidential emergency decrees or fired on political grounds, constitutes the decisive criterion for measuring the pro-yusin tendencies of this organization."

The question is: The federation, although it could adopt the yusin line on its own initiative, might not escape the frequent criticism that it is riddled with dependence on the authorities, that is, the state of being kept and bureaucratic.

"The Korean workers, instead of working independently, customarily organize a union, giving its leader special powers. ... In this way these unions are characterized by an order established for mutual aid and joint responsibility and by unanimity in the prevention of persecution stemming adminstratively. The unions wield mighty powers, cover all industries, and with the approval of government authorities, relentlessly hold the violators accountable for their violation of the union rules. For this reason, the persecution coming from these quarters could not be avoided." This is a quotation from "The Chronicles of Korea" explaining the socioeconomic history of the Yi Dynasty. Of course, the unions in those days were a kind of craftsmen's association and are quite different from today's labor union. Nonetheless, it is felt that it would not be meaningless to ask oneself how much today's mode of management of labor unions is different from that in the early days of the Yi Dynasty. One might say that contained in the chronicles is the voice of the masses who used to groan under the double burden of government exploitation and union tyranny.

4. The Road to Sublating the State of Being Kept

It is believed that no one has ever advanced an opinion intrinsically different from the theory of what should be that the counterproductive functions of kept labor unions must of necessity be overcome and sublated in the course of democratization. It would seem that in the face of the recent trend of the labor

world undergoing drastic changes the frontline labor union leaders generally hold the opinion that the contemporary backgrounds which have driven labor unions onto the road to turning themselves into kept ones have to be reviewed with a new eye.

All this time the kept labor unions have been analyzed to have developed the characteristics peculiar to Korea, characteristics stemming from various factors such as (1) the ramrod character of the labor policy giving priority to security based on the equation of "dispute = chaos = invasion from the North," (2) the philosophy for priority to production contained in "the regional development movement by factories," (3) the gutless capitulation to the authority of the Federation of Korea Trade Unions and the attitude tending to shift blame to so-called outside forces, and (4) the noncommittal view of workers toward labor unions.

The state of being kept is a spot, filth that must of necessity be cleansed in the developing society. Young union leaders emphasize that certain leaders of the labor movement only bent on defending the vested rights and those coming out to support them must direct their attention to such common logic.

Next, there are several data related to the state of being kept that, it might be said, represent the voice which brings to light the atmosphere in the field.

(1) The Prospectus (abstract) of the Committee to Expedite Normalization of the Fiber Workers Union

We feel a keen sense of responsibility and make deep self-examination in light of the fact that heretofore, the Fiber Workers Union, which is committed to improving the economic and social positions of the workers and protecting their rights and interests, by failing to discharge its inherent duties and at times creating social issues, has caused the union to fall into an object of personal denunciations.

Now we have come to a point in historical time to make a genuine, free, democratic labor movement strike its roots in this land, quickly liquidating the sloth and mistakes committed in bygone days and restoring the fallen trust in the labor movement. Such historic mission of ours cannot afford to stall or stop, whatever the barrier, and on the road ahead there will be nothing but steadfast effort and forward movement.

Recently, embarking on the task to normalize the Fiber Workers Union with a view to fixing a genuine image of the labor union for the sake of union members in keeping with the historical currents of democratic development, we have recommended this direction to chairman Kim Yong-t'ae, but ignoring this, he is attempting to lead this into an organizational dispute in order to merely sustain his own position. Under conditions that social trust in the labor union has fallen and so has implicit public belief in it, it goes without saying that we cannot properly conduct the movement for this year's wage increase and for the improvement of labor conditions but the current state of affairs is such that we absolutely cannot carry out important tasks immediately facing the labor union in step with the current democratization trend, tasks such as restoring the basic rights to labor, improving the social position of the labor union, enhancing the rights and interests of union members.

We have a task to perform to make the National Fiber Workers Union create a wholesome movement atmosphere for championing the rights and interests of union members in accordance with the provisions made in the declaration and program and to this end, to readjust the articles of association and system of this union. Forming the Committee to Expedite Normalization of the National Fiber Workers Union in support of the will of the 180,000 union members thirsting for a democratic labor movement, we hereby pledge to exert ourselves to the utmost for the sake of the development of the Fiber Workers Union.

28 January 1980

(2) The Appeal (abstract) of Female Workers of the H Confectionery Company

We are the female workers of the H Confectionery Company who have been subjected to all kinds of violence form the company and to intimidation and humiliation from those who sponsored us at the time of our employment, on the ground that we asked for an 8-hour work day system. At this late date, all the media such as newspapers and broadcasts report as if the company is implementing an 8-hour work day system for its employees, but this is a one-sided report entirely contrary to facts. In July of last year, we began asking for an 8-hour work day system but male technicians under manipulation of the company used violence toward us, mouthing invectives which cannot be repeated here.

The male technicians, throwing at us, the female workers demanding an 8-hour work day, whatever they could lay their hands on, such as footboards, cans, electric fans, and kettles, thus creating a terrifying atmosphere of fear, and perpetrated violence of all kinds beyond description. To cite a most representative example, Miss Kim Ye-sun, of the chewing gum department, was dropped several times on a concrete floor as she was bodily carried away by the section chief and male technicians, and she finally lost consciousness. The company had her carried into the company warehouse and covered with newspapers, still unconscious. Several hours later, her colleagues found her and she was rushed to a Christian hospital where she received treatment for a dozen days in the intensive care unit. Also, as we were about to leave after 8-hours of work, the male technicians locked the exit door and grabbing our throats, pushed us against the wall, banging our heads, or against the conveyor belt, hurting our backs, or dragged us, grabbing hold of our hair, and slapped us countless times. Literally, they kicked and beat us as if we were dogs. Thus, many of our colleagues had to obtain doctor's certificates from the hospital, and some of them are still suffering from the aftereffects.

In connection with this, H Company's labor management-dispute, the labor union took the side of the company which had resorted to violence, and joined forces with it. The labor union, instead of representing the workers and striving to resolve their grievances, became a prawn of the company and told us something could never understand, i.e., "One more mistake and you will find yourselves behind bars and a red line will be drawn [on family register as an ex-convict]." The union only supports the company, stating that the technicians who used violence are also our union members. For all the violence, Director K of the local received not punishment but a citation from the acting chairman for the Yongdungp'o district of the Republican Party; a Mr K, one of the thugs who used violence, received a citation from the director of the local; and section chief C of the Candy Department was promoted as

a deputy chief of the department. If this is not the height of impudence, what is? It is our understanding the authorities are supposed to be evenhanded in the application of law but at a time when even the campuses and political circles stress the need to uproot violence, we cannot understand why the case of violence against the workers is not yet taken care of.

This is not a simple appeal of some of the female workers alone. This is an appeal for human rights of the female workers trampled by men in the labor world of 8 million in this country. How much longer must we, the women, live amid such disregard and mistreatment as human beings at the hands of men?

The H Company's labor union has been for 18 long years, under the dictatorship of the present Director K of the local. It is only right that the dictatorial Director K of the local who has maintaining the local as a kept one up to now, should resign, assuming full responsibility for all his wrongdoings to this day. We the workers, look forward to positive help for our appeal. Thus we wish to see a just society free from violence formed.

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CSO: 4108/1244B

'NOVEMBER DISPUTE' OF CH'ONGGYE GARMENT WORKERS UNION RESOLVED

Seoul WOLGAN CHUNGANG in Korean Jun 80 pp 326-339

[Article by Kim Min-chong, member of Steering Committee, Ch'onggye Garment Local of the National United Workers Union: "Our Road Ahead Is Far But We Are Not Lonesome"]

[Text] We negotiated; when negotiations broke down, we took collective actions; and making compromise one step at a time based on a self-governing discipline in the course of taking actions, we resolved the problem. In the process we have come to discover our own democratic power.

At Long Last a Collective Bargaining Agreement

This day, 17 April, was the eleventh day of sit-in. The meeting held in a conference room in the Tonghwa Commercial Center Building at 1500 hours with 17 representatives of the labor union on the one hand and 17 representatives of the management on the other for the renewal of collective bargaining agreement for 1980, was a marathon session lasting 6 hours and 40 minutes in which both sides made heated arguments, shouting and at times, pushing and shoving each other. Thus, the long meeting finally came to an end with the signing of the renewed collective bargaining agreement by Ch'oe Youn-kap, representing the management side and by Director Im Hyon-chae of the regional, representing the union side.

We were relieved of the tension b ought on by the 11-day sit-in, a state of lethargy set in, and we felt weighted down with fatigue all of a sudden. As we left the conference room, we shook hands with each and every one of the management side, exchanging "thanks for your hard work" and "let's do it well all together," and proceeded straight toward the rooftop of the Peace Market Building where the union office is located.

Getting out of the Tonghwa commercial district, we moved along the street in front of the market, a busy street during daytime. This is precisely the place where 10 years ago on 13 November 1970 at about 2230 hours, a 23-year-old youth, Chon T'ae-il, died of self-immolation, as a mark of protest, pouring gasoline all over his body and setting fire to himself. He shouted "We are not machine!" "Observe the Labor Standard Law!" "Protect the young innocent mind!" and as he fell down, he got up again and shouted "Don't let me die in vain!" before he expired.

We were speechless, for we felt a lump in our throats as we found ourselves at the very place where a young man had given his life in his cause.

The banners on the rooftop of the Peace Market Building were waving as if writhing, only a few days ago but tonight, perhaps because of the calm of an April night air which still retained a bite, they were all slack. We arrived at the union office where for 11 days we had staged a sit-in, shouting at the top of our lungs "Increase our wages!" "Guarantee our right to living!" "Fully implement the retirement allowance system!" and "Guarantee the three labor rights!"

Union members, anxiously awaiting the result of the meeting, were talking scattered in groups here and there in the office, in places covered with tents and vinyl sheets. Some of them, spotting us, loudly asked:

"How is it going?"

As if they heard a signal, all of the 200 union members gathered around us, everyone asking us at once about the result of the meeting.

"Everything is fine!"

So saying, we held up the copy of the just signed collective bargaining agreement and everyone shouted in unison "Manse!" "We won!" hugging and congratulating each other, jumping, crying.

As everyone was telling each "Sister, you worked hard!" "No, everyone worked hard!" "Mother, you worked hard!" someone composed an impromptu song "We have won!" and everyone sang it continuously and the shout of manse continued endlessly.

Then, under the signboard of "Ch'onggye Garment Regional of the National United Workers Union" some 200 union members from the regional director on down made deep bows before the mother (Madame Yi So-son, mother of Comrade Chon T'ae-il). This homage finished, everyone tossed everyone shoulder-high, and then forming lines joining hands and snaking around the rooftop of the Peace Market Building, everyone sang the songs "We shall Overcome" and "Let's Not Make the Death of Comrade Chon T'ae-il Futile" and danced in tune with cymbals, gongs, and drums. When exhausted from dancing, we slaked our thirst by drinking makkolli [a coarse fermented liquor] and got up again to dance, and the jubilant singing and dancing continued all night.

One would never know wh has not gone through 11 sleepless nights and days, filling one's stomach with simple rice balls and getting kicked by the police task force in the rain; one would never know who has not been threatened with dismissal if one participated in a sit-in staged in the factory behind locked gates, the significance of this today's joy.

The Demand for Guarantee of the Minimum Cost of Living

Important provisions in the renewed collective bargaining agreement signed on that day include: basic wages by job classifications such as monthly minimum of 58,000

won for "sita" [junior] workers; minimum of 105,000 won for sewing workers, second grade 125,000 won, first grade 150,000 won; 91,000 won for assistant cutting workers; 80,000 won for "matome" [coordinating] workers; 115,000 won for "siage" [finishing] workers; 150,000 won guarantee for sewing workers (contract) and 70,000 won for assistant sewing workers; and implementation of 100 percent retirement allowance by businesses employing 10 or more but below 15 employees.

With a view to enabling all of our union members to make a living in a manner worthy of human beings, we originally demanded, as minimum: wage increase for "sita" workers from last year's 43,000 won to 72,163 won (67.82 percent); assistant sewing workers from 60,000 won to 92,995 won (54.99 percent); assistant cutting workers from 70,000 won to 115,136 won (64.48 percent); sewing workers from minimum 82,000 won to 150,564 won (83.6 percent), second grade from 100,000 won to 170,564 won (70.56 percent), first grade from 120,000 won to 190,564 won (58.8 percent); ironing workers from 90,000 won to 155,510 won; ribbon sewing workers 172,705 won to 192,705 won; "matome" workers 132,851 won; guaranteed wage of contract sewing workers the same as the minimum wage of regular sewing workers; and industrywide implementation of a retirement allowance payment system, annual payment of 150 percent bonus, and the establishment of an 8-hour base pay for purposes of wage computation and payment based thereon of overtime pay and allowances for special monthly leave for women workers and weekly day of rest. We also demanded the protection and fostering of small businesses by granting them the benefit of tax reduction so as to prevent them from suspending or closing down their business and stabilize the jobs of their employees while raising low wages. Inasmuch as the difficulties of the small businesses have a direct bearing on our difficulties, we regarded it as one of our important tasks to see to the grant of tax reduction to them.

In addition, we decided to make the following demands: to grant the union the use of the company public address system when so requested; to allow the union to inspect such company documents as considered necessary for union activities; to acquaint the union with the state of company business and tax situation; the management to make prior consultation with the union when contemplating work force reduction; to designate as paid holidays the four national holidays as well as the anniversary day, 13 November, of the death of Comrade Chon T'ae-il. With these demands to be explicitly written into this year's collective bargaining agreement, we had agreed to the labor-management meeting to be held on 21 March (22 representatives each from the management and union).

But the meeting had to be called off because after no less than two hours of waiting, a majority of management representatives had not showed up. This failure on the part of the management side, in spite of the fact that the formal notice of the meeting was hand-carried to each and every one of the management representatives and a written acknowledgment was obtained from them, left an impression that the management side was ignoring the labor-management meeting itself.

Rather than expressing our dissatisfaction, our side held informal talks with the management side before calling off the meeting. What we achieved on that day was to form a subcommittee consisting of 7 members each from both sides and hold a subcommittee meeting at 1500 hours on the 28th.

At the subcommittee meeting which was also held in the conference room on the rooftop of the Tonghwa Commercial Center Building at 1500 hours on the 28th, the union side explained its proposal.

In explaining the proposal, our side premised that the minimum standard wage must be sufficient enough to meet the minimum cost of living for the worker to make a living with his family, because if the minimum standard wage fell below the minimum cost of living, the worker and his family would go bankrupt on account of the continuing shortfall in housekeeping or would end up being unable to maintain their existence. Our side went on to contend that from this viewpoint, the guarantee of the minimum cost of living must be emphasized more than anything else as a minimum humane demand to make a living in a manner worthy of human beings, that what good does it do to have thousands of dollars in national income, tens of billions of dollars in export, if many workers are still having difficulties in making a living, that from the enterprises' point of view, too, wage increase will bring stability to the living of the workers that will improve labor productivity that will make possible for the enterprises to develop; and that furthermore, from the viewpoint of the national economy, too, unless the workers have their happy, stable living insured, there will be no harmonious, balanced development of the national economy.

Nevertheless, the fact of the matter is that not only we are paid low wages below the minimum cost of living, we are forced to work long hours in a noxious labor environment without any welfare benefit.

Travails of the Labor-Management Conference

For the past 20 years since the 16 May Incident our country has achieved the high growth rate of nearly 10 percent every year, but what has made such high growth possible is none other than the blood and sweat of our workers. It is only natural that we who have done more than anyone else for the economic growth, should demand a commensurate remuneration.

Pointing our that it was wrong to hold down our wage increase demand every year, let alone the fruits of such economic growth, on the ground that such wage increase would operate as a factor causing rises in consumer prices and weakening our economic power in the international arena, we went on to demand that our wage increase demand line must be accepted and the payment of 150 percent bonus systematized, instead of making do with some sugar or a few thousand won at a time of ch'usok [the 15th of August by the lunar calendar] or lunar New Year and that a retirement allowance payment system must be implemented at all factories because, as matters stand now, workers who have worked tens of years for small businesses have to retire with no compensation to follow after retirement and especially because, to avoid retirement allowance payment, even businesses requiring 16 or more employees either hold down the number of employees below 16 or divide their factories each employing less than 16 employees, with the result that those workers working for small businesses have no way of getting out of their miserable plight.

Our demands were to insure the stability of the life of the workers if only at a minimum level at a time when we wake up every morning to find that the consumer prices have skyrocketed overnight, and only if our demands were met, would it be possible for the enterprises to maintain their continued existence and achieve growth.

Therefore, we sounded the warning that in the event that our demands were not realized, the dissatisfaction of the labor circles would accumulate, spread, deepen, and that not to mention labor-management cooperation, the current task aimed at democratic politicoeconomic development would run into grave difficulties.

After hearing such demands of ours and the explanation of our proposal, the management side merely talked about their own difficulties, such as even though our demands were plausible and understandable in light of the skyrocketing prices, the recession is so severe that if our demands were met, they would fold up in no time, and without committing themselves to any definite answer, they went on to state "business is difficult and taxes keep going up, and what would happen if labor cost increased?" or "the workers are having a hard time but so are we." Thus the meeting on that day failed to narrow the gap between the differences of opinion.

What was agreed upon after 5 hours of discussion was two items: "The company shall, after mutual discussion, permit the union to use its public address system when so requested"; and meet again at 1500 hours on 1 April.

As both sides sat down face to face at the 1 April meeting which was also held in the conference room of the Tonghwa Commercial Center Building, a heavy silence prevailed. Then, as the subject of "sita" wages was taken up for discussion, both sides put up heated arguments.

From the very beginning, the 72,163 won demanded by our side for "sita" workers was a figure arrived at by the cost of living for them to live in a rented room of a house after deducting housekeeping expenses such as heat, light, and educational expenses from the minimum cost of living, 92,995 won.

The "sita" workers range in age from 15 to 18 and generally, are fresh public primary school graduates whose families are too poor to send them to middle schools, or middle school dropouts, and these young girls draw the lowest wages.

'Sita' Wages, a Focal Point of Arguments

The job of a "sita" worker working under a sewing worker is bringing the sewing materials to the sewing machine and sorting out the materials and various accessories for the sewing worker to sew, after which the "sita" worker smoothes them out.

Often, one might think that the "sita" working under the sewing worker does the simple job of learning the trade, but it is not so. For "sita" performs an independent job. For example, working together with the "sita" worker, the sewing worker sews 10 pieces of garment a day, but working alone, the sewing worker sews 3-4 pieces of garment at best. Therefore, the job of the "sita" actually requires a lot of heavy work. But the employer holds to the logic that the "sita" performs a simple job, is young in age, and learns on the job, and therefore, deserves a low wage.

Thus, the management side insisted on increasing last year's "sita" wage of 43,000 won to 48,000 won. When our side contended that 48,000 won was totally unacceptable, the management quibbled about it for hours and then came up with a maximum 53,000 won, declaring that this was the best they could do and not one penny more even if they had ten necks to put on the chopping block. Against this, our side made a

compromise for a minimum of 65,000 won but the management side would not budge, grumbling they would have to close their factories.

We felt a bitter taste in our mouth stemming from knowing that labor and management were really widely apart. Both sides ended the meeting without reaching any conclusion except to agree to meet again on 7 April.

We could not but be indignant at the cold response from the management side. A sense of lethargy set in. Would it be really impossible by means of talks to narrow the gap between the differences of opinion? Would it be possible at all to be a little more open-minded?

Holding a meeting at 2030 hours on 4 April to work out countermeasures, the union side decided on a last wage demand line, scaling down the original line by far. And in the event that the last line was not accepted at the 7 April labor-management meeting, the union side made the grim resolution that there was no alternative but to take strong-arm action.

Our last wage demand line was" 60,200 won for "sita" workers, 72,800 won for assistant sewing workers, 98,000 won for assistant cutting workers, 93,800 won for "matome" workers, or a 40 percent increases each; 121,500 won for ironing workers, a minimum 110,700 won, second grade 135,000 won, and first grade 162,000 won for sewing workers, or a 35 percent increase each; 35-25 percent increase for cutting workers, 162,000 won for ribbon sewing workers; and the implementation of the retirement allowance system at all factories; annual payment of 150 percent bonus; and the sustenance pay (guaranteed pay) of contract sewing workers. Moreover, we resolved that as long as this line was not realized, our members of the conference committee would remain in the conference room and stage a hunger sit-in while the other union members would take a similar action at the same time.

Final Negotiations on the Last Demand Line

The labor and management sides held the fourth meeting in the conference room of the Tonghwa Commercial Center Building at 1500 hours on 7 Apritl. At this meeting, too, each side looked at the other with a heavy heart and then our side suggested that the entire job classifications be discussed as a package but the management side insisted on discussing "sita" first. Thus, each side began heated arguments over the "sita" wage.

As our insistence on 65,000 won as "sita" wage ran into the management side's sustained opposition, our side put forward 60,200 won for "sita", declaring that it was our last compromise line. Against this, the management side merely repeated what it had said at the last meeting and finally declared that 53,000 won was the absolute maximum it could pay. Thus, the verbal battle continued for several hours, at the end of which a company president K of the management side said "OK then. We will add 1,000 won more to the 53,000 won. Let's agree on 54,000 won and end the talk on this subject" and then another company president S suggested "you also know the business is not good this year, don't you? We cannot afford to add even a penny to last year's wage scale but as a gesture of goodwill we will make 10-20 percent increase. So let's not waste any more time."

We were really dumbfounded. Wage is the sole means of livelihood for the workers. How could they say that another 1,000 won would be added as if haggling over the price of a commodity at the marketplace? How could they say that they would increase, as a gesture of goodwill, the wage of the worker who barely ekes out a living for his family and himself, getting up early in the morning and reporting to the factory to do heavy labor all day long covered with dust? Stunned as we were, there was nothing we could do but to laugh. And we declared, as we put forward the last demand line we had decided on earlier on the 4th, that until this minimum demand was met, we would not leave the conference room and would wait indefinitely.

Wont as they are to be always, the management side commented on our greatly scaled down proposal "If we accepted this demand, there would be no one selling garments in the market" and the representatives of the management side, on the excuse of having other important things to do, began leaving the conference room one by one and in the end, there were only the 7 of us left. "Well, just as we thought."

Locking up the doors and erecting barricades and posting our demands and slogans, we began our hunger sit-in. It was 1900 hours on 7 April.

Over and above wage increase, our demands included the following: stop immediately the moving or closing down of factories in the Chungbu Market or other centers without taking the necessary countermeasures; the Peace Market Co., Ltd. must participate in collective bargaining; grant the small businesses the benefit of tax reduction for wiping out low wages and stabilizing employment; guarantee the the three labor rights completely and absolutely; immediately reinstate and restore rights of those workers discharged or taken into custody while engaged in the democratic labor movement under the yusin system.

The First Day of the Sit-In

Meanwhile, on hearing that the union cadres began their hunger sit-in in the labor-management conference room, union members proceeded toward the sit-in room after completing their day's work but were intercepted by the commercial guards of the center. Thus, middle-level union cadres and members gathered at the home of the late Comrade Chon Y'ae-il in Ssangmun-tong, Tobong-ku, in the evening of the same day, and discussing countermeasures with mother Yi So-son of the late Comrade Chon T'ae-il, decided to begin a sit-in in the union office on the rooftop of the Peace Market Building at 1300 hours on the 8th.

On the following day, some 20 of them appealed to union members to report to the union office by 1300 hours, distributing flyers "Seven Union Cadres Begin Hunger Sit-In" and a declaration to all factories in the commercial districts. The declaration included the following demands to the management side and the government, denouncing the insincerity of the management: the management side must accept our wage increase demands, and the government must reduce taxes for the small businesses because the excessive tax burden on the small businesses is shifted onto the workers in their employ, cuasing an increasing number of their workers to lose their jobs; the three labor rights of workers must be carried out immediately.

At 1300 hours on 8 April, mother Yi So-son and some 200 union members gathered in the union office, crowding the 7.5 p'yong floor space, and began their sit-in, erecting barricades.

Prior to the 26 October Incident, whenever we staged a sit-in or demonstration, the police customarily mobilized their task force, surrounded us, and tightening their ring, beat us up with their billy clubs and threw us into the paddy wagons. Thus they broke up our sit-in or demonstration. Accustomed as we were to this police technique, our common sense dictated the airtight erection of barricades, and we had to prepare various means of defense, just in case.

We used the office furniture and fixtures in erecting barricades in front of the office doors. Among the union members packed into the office room there were young "sita" workers and even pregnant sisters. Everyone enthusiastically shouted slogans, sang songs, and thirstily cried wage increases.

Packed into the space of 7.5 p'yong, rubbing shoulders with beads of perspiration streaming down our faces from the warm fervor as slaves "wishing to die standing rather that surviving bending our knees," we seemed to be trying to bodily lift an invisible dark curtain shrouding the pains of the workers.

As the barricades completely shut us in, when nature called, we had to make do with a bucket inside the room and throw it outside.

Everywhere on the rooftop of the Peace Market Building began to mushroom banners such as "Increase Our Wages!" "Implement the Retirement Allowance Payment System Completely!" "Guarantee the Three Labor Rights Completely!" and "Reinstate the Workers and Restore Their Rights!"

We spent the first day of the sit-in, filling our hungry stomachs with bread and milk. As the night wore one, we became aware of and confirmed the fact that uneducated and poor as we were, as we relied on each other, some sleeping curled up, some standing guard, some talking in whispers, as we were fighting together like this, going hungry together, shouting and singing together, we were drawing strength from each other, relying on each other, and we were loving each other and further cementing our comradely bond.

Eyes Bright Even As Physically Exhaused

The following day, 9 April, hearing the news of the sit-in, union members continued to come rushing to the union office. The late-coming union members also staged a chain sit-in outside the office, shouting wage increase demands. Meanwhile, six of the union cadres in the hunger sit-in on the rooftop of the Tonghwa Commercial Center Building, sat down face to face with the management side at 1500 hours and began labor-management talks.

Why only six members of our side attended the discussions was because on the previous evening the women's department chief fainted and had to be hospitalized.

Starting out as a "sita" and becoming a sewing worker after nearly 15 years while attending her widowed mother, she had been active in the labor movement, and arrested on 9 September 1977 during a do-or-die struggle, she served a prison term of nearly one year long. As a result, she was in very poor health, and it would have been rather strange if she had been able to withstand the rigors of the hunger sit-in without fainting.

On that day the meeting lasted three hours without success and both sides agreed to meet again on the following day. The management side had persisted in its refusal to pay retirement allowance and bonus, only agreeing to 15-22 percent wage increases.

The sixth labor-management meeting was held at 1500 hours on 10 April. On that day too, both sides interrupted the talks several times, exchanging compromise proposals, but the management side seemed unwilling to narrow the differences of opinion regarding wage increases, merely asking that the sit-in be dissolved. What was important was not the dissolution of the sit-in but wage increases; still, the management side did not show good faith for wage increases; and we could not but be indignant. The union members were staging their sit-in in a stifling room with beads of perspiration streaming down their faces. How could the management side idly stand by and do nothing about the thirstily awaiting union members? The management side seemed to be hoping that the union members would get tired of their sit-in in time and voluntarily give up their sit-in, dispirited.

As the differences of opinion never seemed to narrow at all, a government labor supervisor stepped in and meeting with both sides, presented a mediation proposal for a 28 percent wage increase and 150 percent bonus. But this mediation proposal was turned down by both sides.

The management side said it would file an arbitration application but our side declared that, as we were demanding the abolition of the Defense Law [powi pop] and the guarantee of the three labor rights, we would not accept an ex officio arbitration and that we would continue to fight. Thus our side decided to leave the conference room, dissolving the hunger sit-in, and join forces with the union members staging a sit-in in the union office.

The union members in the union office, for their sit-in three days and two nights, all looked wan, unwashed, and hoarse. Still, their eyes were bright with the resolve "to live a life worthy of human beings."

Though physically exhausted, there were no physical laws that could tire our spirit of wanting to live like human beings all together. For we are not machine, not beasts of burden, but human beings... .

We Shall Overcome This Difficult Reality!

Now that the labor-management talks broke down, it was the consensus that we must keep on fighting for days and months to come. Rice cooking pots were installed at once and rice was purchased by the bags. More union members were still coming in to join the sit-in and for them, we pitched tents right beside the office, thus making preparations for a long fight.

All these things went on smoothly and swiftly because everyone eagerly volunteered to do them, not because they were told to. Truly, there were no superiors, no subordinates, no one telling others to do this or that, nor was there anyone doing anything just because he or she was told to. Everyone was equal. Everyone was free. Everyone was precious and beautiful.

The parents who grumbled about our sit-in at first, now understood what we were trying to achieve, and came to visit and encourage us, bringing food baskets, and some of the parents even brought rice cakes for their daughters. If this is not moving what is? We must overcome. We must overcome at all costs. We must overcome this reality, a reality in which our living worsens day by day for all the hard work we do. Only if we could a little more warmly attend our parents whose lot it is to suffer from the day they were born... .

For a Miss Yun, 21, a sewing worker, her father came to visit late one evening. He came because the president of the company at whose factory his daughter was working, had told him that she was kidnaped and locked up by gangsters. Coming to visit the union office late in the evening, he made a scene, loudly demanding the release of his daughter.

After witnessing the scene, Miss Yun and one of her colleagues, a Miss Yi, 23, went to Miss Yun's home [late that evening] and made a detailed explanation to Miss Yun's father. He got angry as he realized that he had been deceived, and in spite of the late hour, he telephoned the union office and gave his encouragement to the union members, repeatedly apologizing for his behavior. The following day he sent off his daughter to the union office for sit-in, not to the factory.

By 1300 hours on 11 April the number of sit-in union members swelled even more. We decided to stage demonstrations, going through all the commercial districts, but divided the union members in two groups just in case we were forced to disperse. So the union members were divided into two groups, each group consisting of 200 members. One group remained to stand guard at the sit-in site and the other group went to stage demonstrations. At 1400 hours the demonstration group, wearing headbands inscribed with "Increase our wages," "Implement the retirement allowance system completely," "We want to live like human beings," proceeded to the Tonghwa commercial district, marching four abreast and shouting slogans.

Police task forces had already been positioned at the entrances to the Tonghwa [illegible] district and to the Peace Market. But evidently they were not expecting [illegible]stration and only after we arrived in the Tonghwa commercial district did t[illegible] begin to rush us and clashed with us on the rooftop of the Tonghwa Commercial Center Building. [the space for seventeen characters is blank, apparently deleted] after pushing and shoving against the handrails on the rooftop of the Tonghwa Commercial Center Building, we began a chain sit-in right there on the rooftop. One hour after this chain sit-in, the police posted themselves on both sides of the street to prevent us from going into other commercial districts, keeping only the street to the Peace Market open.

Thus we had to return to the Peace Market from the Tonghwa commercial district.

In the slogans we shouted at the top of our lungs was blood-spitting breath as if coming from the very bottom of the grievous hearts of the workers repressed and treated with contempt up to now. The union members were overwhelmed by the very slogans they were shouting louder and higher. Overwhelmed, 7 union members fell down and we cried, hugging each other.

In the Rain, In the Curled-Up Sleep

It was the fifth night of the sit-in.

For the daily increasing human waves joining the sit-in, it was very difficult to find the space to sleep. Those who were needed at their homes were told to go home and come back for daytime sit-in only, but many of the union members would not listen, saying they wanted to share the hardships. Blankets and quilts were purchased. What a joy to feel that we were now really living! Those in the union office were too crowded to have a restful sleep while those outside were too cold to sleep. How thankful to have blankets and quilts.

But it began raining late at night. How heartless of God! Amid the untimely rain, vinyl sheets were hastily put over the tents, and over the kitchen, and sandbags were piled up as windbreaks around them. The rain continued and even raindrops were falling from the eaves. Except for those in the union office, the tents, and the kitchen, all others had to sleep in the third-floor corridors of the Peace Market Building on makeshift beds set up on boxes. A few union members, forgoing their sleep, sat up all night making out letters of persuasion addressed to those union members who had not yet staged a sit-in.

In the morning they took out the letters of persuasion for refusal to work and participation in the sit-in, and scattered them in the commercial districts. The police and commercial guards tried to take away the letters of persuasion from the union members and the union members tried to hold on to the letters of persuasion, and quite a fight developed between them. From early morning the police task force was blocking the entrance to the Peace Market while company presidents and factory managers, locking up their factory gates, were standing guard in an attempt to prevent their workers from coming in and staging a sit-in.

It was reported that one factory locked the factory gate from inside, from the first day, and the company president was standing guard for days now. Nonetheless, the union members got together. They stood in the rain, unfazed; they refused to be shaken by the false propaganda and intimidation of their company president and their factory manager; they stood their ground even when the police task force created an atmosphere of terror. Thus they joined the fighting ranks in the union office on the rooftop of the Peace Market Building.

By 1300 hours on the 12th, the union members joining the sit-in, numbered some 600.

On that day, too, forming a tight quarter column, they demonstrated in the streets of the commercial district while others came down from the rooftop of the Peace Market Building wearing headbands and shouting slogans for wage increase.

A police task force several hundred strong was standing in our way at the entrance to the ground floor of the market building. Clash. [the space for two lines is blank, apparently deleted.]

Little we knew that the sound of handclaps, a sound we used to take for granted without attaching any particular significance to it, sounded so sweet giving strength and courage to us.

"World, do you understand the sufferings of the workers?" This is the song we used to sing as we fought, and our struggle was after all not in vain! The eyes and ears of the world were never plugged and the hearts of those oppressed were thus united! Can you doubt it?

As we heard that sound of handclaps giving strength to the weak and straightening out the strong, we felt a lump in our throats. Maybe it is the thing we thirsted for in our longly struggle all this while, a thing that disproves our loneliness in bygone days.

We could not but retreat in the face of the task force counterattack. In the clash that lasted about two hours, many people got bashed on the head by billy clubs and kicked by military boots, and among other injured, the organizational department chief of the labor union blacked out and had to be taken to the hospital where he was administered oxygen and other treatment for several days.

'A Memorial Funeral Service,' Too

After our retreat to the rooftop, we held onto the handrails, shouting the demand for the police task force to withdraw. Then, regrouping our ranks, we resumed our demonstration, going in circles on the rooftop of the Peace Market Building. Some 3 hours of this demonstration later, we felt hungry. Before we knew it, our sisters manning the kitchen had cooked rice and were now distributing rice balls. The drizzle was turning into large raindrops.

The way we devoured the rice balls in the rain must have looked like a scene in a war movie or like a moving chapter of a novel we once read.

After feasting upon the rice balls for lunch, we had to send most of the union members back home. For the rain was unlikely to stop and there was hardly space to stand, not to mention the difficulty to find sleeping space for the night.

Except for some 100 union members to continue the sit-in, all the other union members were sent home.

At about 2300 hours on that evening, Managing Director Ch'oe Yong-kap of a company in the Tonghwa commercial district (a management member of the labor-management committee), came to us for negotiations. The proposal he brought with him was for a 28 percent wage increase and a 50 percent retirement allowance payable for 1 year only by businesses employing 10 or more but less than 15 employees. But our side expressed willingness to resume negotiations provided the management side agreed to a 100 percent retirement allowance payable by businesses employing 10 or more employees and a 150 percent bonus. The negotiations fell through.

The 12th of April. The long and nasty rain on the night of Saturday seemed to be cutting up the sad hearts of us the poor people.

The following day, a Sunday, the 100-plus union members, as they stood guard at the sit-in site, cleaned up the inside and out. They also regrouped the ranks in preparation for tomorrow's struggle.

The 14th of April. A bright Monday. A majority of union members, who went home yesterday, Sunday, recovered from their week-long fatigue and some of them had barbered and bathed themselves. They came back to struggle for an indefinite period.

At 1340 hours, some 500 union members held "a memorial funeral service" in memory of Comrade Chon T'ae-il, who had burned himself to death 10 years ago at the young age of 23, appealing for a united struggle for the sake of winning the rights and interests of all workers in this land.

The dummy coffin was solemnly covered with white cloth, a portrait of the comrade was respectfully placed in front of it, and incense and candles were burning on either side of the coffin. Some 500 union members, coming forward behind large paper streamers on which were written what Comrade Chon T'ae-il had shouted at the moment of his self-immolation--"We are not machine!" "Protect the innocent young mind!" "Observe the Labor Standard Law!" "Don't let me die in vain!"--were making deep bows before the portrait of Comrade Chon T'ae-il.

Born in Taegu on 26 August 1948, Comrade Chon T'ae-il spent his boyhood days, peddling chewing gums, newspapers, "ice cake" [Popsicle], pushed "rear cars" [bicycle-drawn carts] for a small wage, and worked as an umbrella repairman. He wanted so much to study like other boys but had to drop out after one year as a public high school student and became a worker in the Peace Market. He was 17 years old.

What Happened 10 Years Ago

Coming to work in the Peace Market, Comrade Chon T'ae-il had to witness heartrending miseries every day. Young "sita" workers ranging in age from 12 to 15 or 16, locked up in a dark, crowded, dusty shop where not a single streak of the outside sunshine penetrated nor was there any ventilation opening, rarely ate their lunches properly and were even unable to go to the bathroom in time when nature called. Under such conditions, they had to put in more than 15 hours of hard labor a day from early morning till late at night.

Comrade Chon T'ae-il thought and thought, sitting up several nights, and finally reached the conclusion that the only road to living for the workers was the road of united struggle in order to basically improve the labor conditions. He made up his mind to dedicate his entire life to the cause of fighting to improve the labor conditions of the Peace Market at all costs.

Subsequently, he bought the book of Labor Standard Law, studied it by night, and surveyed the state of affairs in the Peace Market by day, organizing his fellow cutting workers.

As a result, in 1969 he filed petitions with the Office of Labor and Seoul City Hall requesting improvement of the labor conditions.

But the Office of Labor and City Hall coldly ignored the petitions without showing any reaction at all, and for their efforts, he and his colleagues were fired by the management on the ground that they had agitated the workers.

In 1970, he volunteered to work as a day laborer in the construction of the Samgaksan Church and by night, he studied about the ways to conduct the labor movement and prayed. Then, he vowed "should all methods fail, I will give up my young life in protest and appeal to society and awaken the workers." With this vow, he returned to the Peace Market.

He thoroughly surveyed once more the state of the labor conditions in the Peace Market. Together with the result of this survey, he submitted to the Office of Labor demands such as "cut back work hours, implement a system for a weekly day of rest, abolish the mezzanine floor, install ventilators, increase wages, and implement a physical examination system." But he saw no prospect at all for any improvement of the labor conditions.

On 13 November 1970, as a final resort after several abortive demonstration attempts, he staged, together with his colleagues, a demonstration on the street in front of the Peace Market, carrying picket signs "Let us have sunshine if only one day a week!" and "We are not machine!" As his colleagues were dispersed, their picket signs taken away by a police task force, he poured gasoline over himself and set himself afire. Jumping into the front of workers, himself afire, he shouted "Observe the Labor Standard Law!" and "Protect the young innocent mind!" and fell down but got up again to shout and fell again. He was taken to the hospital, but expired, shouting "Don't let me die in vain!"

Agreement Reached After Twists and Turns

Such was the background that we held another funeral service for Comrade Chon T'ae-il, who had died 10 years ago.

Even though we failed to come to grips with facts in the 70's and had to let him go with our hands, the funeral service held on that day was to burn away, before him, the mentality that we used to "work as told and receive wages as paid" and to invoke his departed spirit to give strength and courage and wisdom to us as vanguard of our ranks in the struggle for wage increase, making each and every one of our young hearts burn with his spirit, now that we have opened 10 years later our eyes and ears through his great cry, determined to make sure that he had not died in vain.

The funeral service began with a silent prayer, followed by a brief personal history of the departed comrade, accounts of his activities up to his death, and a memorial address was read.

The Madame Yi So-son, mother of the departed comrade, mother of all workers, offered a prayer.

Mother said in her prayer: "O God, here are gathered the repressed, frail daughters of yours who have been struggling one whole week, forgoing sleep. Oversee the weak workers, give them a life worth living as human beings, and turn around with your power the misled minds of the business proprietors. We believe you, our Lord, to be on the side of the weak. We will fight and win, secure in the knowledge that you will make your presence known among us, be our strength in the struggle, and look after our health." We, the 500 union members all wept as we heard this earnest prayer.

Then followed a funeral procession, bearing the dummy coffin, and the singing of a "memorial song" led by large paper streamers.

After going in circles several times on the rooftop of the Peace Market Building, the funeral procession left the building to go through the commercial district streets.

But standing in the way of the solemn funeral procession with a portrait of the late comrade Chon T'ae-il in front, was a police task force. [The space for more than 2 lines is blank, apparently deleted] wrapped up in shouting "Let's not make the death of Comrade Chon T'ae-il futile!" and singing the "memorial song," we turned around to resume the sit-in.

Meanwhile, the Office of Labor held a meeting with the management side of the labor-management committee at 1000 hours on that day and after discussion lasting until 1930 hours, the management side agreed to accept a mediation proposal for a 29 percent wage increase and a 100 percent retirement allowance payable by businesses employing 10 or more employees.

With this mediation proposal the labor supervisory section chief of the Office of Labor and a representative of the management side came to the labor union for negotiation. Our side, after discussing this mediation proposal all night, informed the other side of our readiness to negotiate if an 80 percent bonus and a minimum of 30 percent wage increase for sewing workers were added to the proposal.

The following day, our side decided to withdraw the additional items and informed the management side of our decision and our readiness to sign an agreement at 1100 hours. But some of the business proprietors in the T'ongil commercial district closed their doors, protesting against the acceptance by the management side of the Labor-Management Committee of the 29 percent wage increase and the 100 percent retirement allowance payable by businesses employing 10 or more employees, and appearing at the office of the labor supervisor on the rooftop of the Tonghwa Commercial Center Building at 1000 hours, began making noises. Thus the signing was postponed.

The following day, 16 April. There was still some protest but by the persuasion of a management representative, it was decided to give a carte blanche to the Labor-Management Committee.

The morning of 17 April. Judging that the protest of the business proprietors was not against the wage increase but against their excessive tax burden, our side issued a statement, "calling for a tax reduction for protection of the small businesses."

Stating in this statement "while ridiculously large financing and other privileges in terms of the tax system are granted a minority of large businesses, the small businesses not only enjoy no such benefits at all but suffer from an excessive tax burden. As the small businesses pass on this burden to their workers, the workers in the employ of small businesses suffer from low wages and the number of workers losing their jobs is daily increasing on account of frequent suspension or closing down of small businesses," our side conteaded that "the authorities must at once abolish or suspend the collection of the value added tax."

And on that day, after a long discussion from 1500 hours to 2140 hours, the collective bargaining agreement was signed and thus the wage increase struggle for 1980 came to a conclusion.

The 'Possibility' We Have Gained

Agreement on matters such as the 29 percent wage increase and the 100 percent retirement allowance payable by businesses employing 10 or more but less than 15 employees, is the victory won by the 11-day struggle.

But it goes without saying that in the whirlwind of the skyrocketing prices, the 29 percent wage increase and provisions for retirement allowance are too little to stabilize our life.

To be sure, the 29 percent wage increase and the 100 percent retirement allowance payable by businesses employing 10 or more employees are victories in the struggle, but more important is what we have achieved in the course of the struggle, i.e., the strengthened comradely solidarity of still more union members, a firm consciousness of their rights, and a strong struggle consciousness.

We have come to hold convictions that we will inevitably win if we struggle with iron solidarity. This is what can be valued and treasured more than so many percent wage increase. For such convictions are indeed the strength of the masses and reveal an infinite possibility in the course of history.

Uneducated as I am, I think that the history of mankind is shaped by the ceaseless struggle of the masses.

From this viewpoint, if we struggle with stronger solidarity, we can firmly believe in the possibility for resolving matters requiring immediate attention such as the complete guarantee of the three labor rights, the purge of kept labor union cadres, the democratization of labor unions, the vitalization of the labor movement, political participation by labor unions, and the minimum wage system.

And ultimately, inasmuch as the success or failure of democratic development depends on whether or not a life worth living as human beings is insured for the workers accounting for an absolute majority of the people, it should be said that whether or not the workers pursue the road to winning a life worth living as human beings is none other than the factor determining the success or failure of democratic development.

Another victory we have won is that we have restored the three labor rights.

Even under conditions that the three labor rights are still tangled up in the National Defense Law, this restoration has been achieved because labor and management resolved the matter with a self-governing discipline by negotiating in a normal manner, by struggling in a normal manner.

The National Defense Law holding the collective bargaining rights and collective action rights in suspense blocks the path to labor-management talks and deprives the workers of their sole means of protecting their rights and interests. Under such conditions, constructive labor-management relations could not be maintained.

Once a labor-management dispute broke out, the police as a matter of course interceded, one-sidedly beating up the workers, taking them into custody, and jailing them. Under such conditions how could the labor-management relations be maintained in a balanced manner?

I think that labor-management relations must be such that both sides coexist in a balanced manner, both sides conducting negotiations on an equal footing and taking collective actions when negotiations break down.

In this last struggle of ours, too, we negotiated, and when negotiations broke down, took collective actions, and in the course of taking collective actions, made one compromise at a time with self-governing discipline, and reached agreement.

To put it another way, what we have gained is precisely the discovery we have made ourselves that in this era of inexorable democratic development we the workers are capable of training ourselves democratically and demonstrating our democratic might.

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CSO: 8132/1244B

DPRK-USSR, DPRK-PRC RELATIONS FROM SEPTEMBER 78 TO MAY 80

Tokyo KIRA CHOSEN KENKYU in Japanese No 72, Jul-Aug 80 pp 40-46

[Text] 4. Diplomatic Source Material

Visits between N. Korea-PRC and N. Korea-USSR (Sep 78 to May 80)

Political Relations

Year	Month	DPRK to PRC	DPRK to USSR	PRC to DPRK	USSR to DPRK
78	9	NODONG SINMUN delegation (Kim Ki-nam)		N. Korean Residents in China Delegation to the 30th DPRK National Anniversary	USSR Government Delegation to attend 9.9 Celebration
				Kirin Provincial Friendship Delegation, Party and Government Delegation	N. Korean Residents in USSR Delegation
				Zheng Xiaoping Liaoning Provincial Friendship Delegation	
	10				USSR Communist Party Activist Delegation
	11		North Hamgyong Party Committee Delegation		

Year	Month	DPRK to PRC	DPRK to USSR	PRC to DPRK	USSR to DPRK
79	5			Deng Yingchao, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress	
	6	DPRK Delegation (Ho Tam) visited Kunming	KWP Delegation	RENMIN RIBAO Delegation	
	7		DPRK Labor Party Activist Delegation		
	8		NODONG SINMUN Delegation		USSR Communist Party Activist Delegation
	9			NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY Delegation	
	10	NODONG SINMUN Delegation		PRC Communist Party Friendship Delegation	
	11	Korea Central News Agency Delegation			
80	5	Party Friendship Observers	President Kim stopped over enroute home from Romania		

Economic Relations

Year	Month	DPRK to PRC	DPRK to USSR	PRC to DPRK	USSR to DPRK
78	9	DPRK Finance Delegation	DPRK Mining Association Delegation of Industrial Engineers General Federation		USSR Marine Industry Delegation

Year	Month	DPRK to PRC	DPRK to USSR	PRC to DPRK	USSR to DPRK
78	11			Coal Mine Trainee Observer Group from PRC Coal Industry Ministry	
	12	DPRK Government Trading Delegation		PRC Agricultural Delegation	
79	1			Chinese Delegation of the Sino-Korean Yalu River Hydroelectric Development Board of Directors	USSR General Federation of Scientific Technology Information Center Delegation
	2		DPRK Marine Industry Delegation	Sino-Korean Border and River Transport Cooperation Committee Delegation	
	4				USSR Government Trade Delegation
	5		DPRK Machine Industry Association Delegation of Industrial Engineers General Federation		
	6		DPRK Construction Industry Ministry Delegation	PRC Finance Delegation	
	7			PRC Agricultural Delegation	
	8	DPRK Government Trade Mission	DPRK Government Delegation to attend Economic and Scientific discussions		
	9			PRC Chamber of Commerce Delegation	

Year	Month	DPRK to PRC	DPRK to USSR	PRC to DPRK	USSR to DPRK
79	10	DPRK Scientific Engineering Cooperation Delegation	DPRK Scientific Engineering Cooperation Delegation		USSR Agricultural Workers Cooperatives Delegation
	12	DPRK Delegation of the Sino-Korean Yalu River Hydroelectric Development Board of Directors			
80	3	DPRK Finance Delegation	DPRK Government Trade Mission	PRC Government Trade Mission	
	4			PRC Electric Industry Friendship Delegation	

Military Relations

Year	Month	DPRK to PRC	DPRK to USSR	PRC to DPRK	USSR to DPRK
79	8			PRC Peoples Liberation Army 8.1 Womens Basketball Team	USSR Military Boxing Team
	9		DPRK Peoples Army Activist Delegation	PRC People's Liberation Army Friendship Observer Delegation	
	10			PRC Peoples Liberation Army 8.1 Men and Women Calisthenics Team	
	11			PRC Liberation Army Kunming Unit Men's Basketball Team	

Social Relations

Year	Month	DPRK to PRC	DPRK to USSR	PRC to DPRK	USSR to DPRK
78	9		DPRK Government Delegation to attend international conference on medical service	PRC Mass Game Observer	USSR Friendship Ukraina Branch Delegation
			The Sino-Korea Friendship Association Delegation	PRC Movie Delegation	USSR National Movie Theory Historical Science Center Delegation
			DPRK Movie Delegation		
			DPRK Nature Conservation Federation Delegation		
			DPRK Postal Delegation		
	10	DPRK Badminton Delegation	Socialist Workers Youth Delegation	PRC Science Academy Delegation	USSR Peace Promotion Committee Delegation
	11		DPRK Primary Education Delegation		USSR North Russia National People's Chorus Group
					USSR Movie Delegation
					Russo-Korea Friendship Association Delegation
					USSR Actor-Actress Group
	12	DPRK Geological Delegation		PRC Health Workers Delegation	USSR Athletic Delegation
80	1		DPRK Athletic Delegation		
			Movie Delegation		

Year Month	DPRK to PRC	DPRK to USSR	PRC to DPRK	USSR to DPRK
2	League of Socialist Youth of Korea Delegation			
3	DPRK Trade Union Delegation			
4	DPRK Friendship Observer Delegation		PRC Table Tennis Delegation to attend Pyongyang World Table Tennis Tournament	USSR Motion Picture Federation Delegation USSR Actors-Actresses Group USSR Table Tennis Delegation to the World Table Tennis Tournament
5		DPRK Calisthenics Team DPRK Red Cross Delegation DPRK Motion Picture Federation Delegation	PRC Cultural Delegation	International New Calisthenics Team Russo-Korea Friendship Moscow 16 Construction Office Delegation
6		DPRK Trade Union Delegation Russo-Korea Friendship Association Delegation	The First PRC Friendship Observer Group PRC Youth Calisthenics Team Women's PRC/ Activists Delegation PRC Volleyball Team PRC Communist Youth Delegation PRC Education Delegation	USSR Construction Workers League Delegation USSR Red Cross Red Crescent Association Federation Delegation USSR Labor Union Magazine Delegation
7		DPRK Sports Team	PRC Theatrical Performers Delegation	Male Volleyball Team to attend Socialist Countries Youth Friendship International Conference

Year	Month	DPRK to PRC	DPRK to USSR	PRC to DPRK	USSR to DPRK
80	7 (Cont)				Socialist Youth Friendship International Weightlifting Tournament Participating Delegation
	8		DPRK Sports Team to Participate Spartan Karate DPRK Historians Delegation DPRK Scientists Delegation		USSR Labor Union International Archery Tournament Team USSR Science Academy Astronomers Delegation USSR Model Plane Competition Delegation
	9		DPRK Motion Picture Delegation League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea Delegation DPRK Science Academy Delegation	PRC Public Safety Table Tennis Delegation PRC Motion Picture Delegation The Second PRC Friendship Observer Delegation	
	10		DPRK Trade Union Magazine Delegation	PRC Bank Delegation	USSR Azerbaijan Judo Team USSR Russian Language Literature Delegation Dancing Troupe of Wilsky Ukraina National Honor
80	1		Marine Industry Delegation		
	2		DPRK Pictorial Delegation Kim Il-song University Delegation		

Year	Month	DPRK to PRC	DPRK to USSR	PRC to DPRK	USSR to DPRK
80	3	DPRK Trade Union Delegation	Reporters League Delegation		
	4		Motion Picture Delegation Social Science Delegation Kangwon Province Committee Delegation for Russo-Korea Friendship Association League of Socialist Youth of Korea Artists League Delegation	Sino-Korea Friendship Association Delegation The first PRC Friendship Observer Delegation	USSR Actors-Actresses Delegation Basketball Team from USSR Kirghiz Republic USSR Movie Delegation
	5		President Kim visited for the Sixth International Movie Festival		

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Dec 17, 1980